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CATALOGUE

of the

DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

PRICE ONE RUPEE.

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CATALOGUE

of the

Delhi Museum of Archæology

(Founded in January, 1909).

COMPILED BY

J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.,

Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle.

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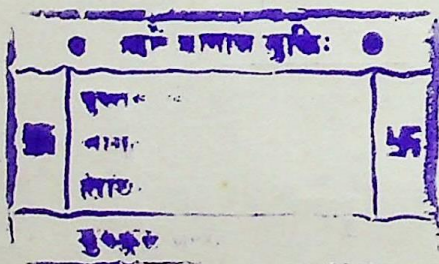
इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति
चन्द्रलोक, जवाहर नगर
दिल्ली द्वारा
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी पुस्तकालय को
भेंट

PREFACE.

For nearly forty years there existed at Delhi a municipal museum established in one of the rooms of the Town Hall. It is said to have been founded in 1868 by Mr. F. H. Cooper, then Deputy Commissioner of the district, and it was only recently abolished. During the first period of its existence, this museum seems to have received considerable attention at the hands of the local authorities, as appears from some valuable donations and acquisitions. But from the beginning its scope was not clearly defined. Objects were purchased merely because they were curios, and others were presented apparently for no other reason than that the owners wished to get rid of them. In the absence of a professional Curator* and of adequate funds, a systematic extension of the collection was impossible, and gradually the Delhi Museum became a wonderful accumulation of the most heterogeneous articles. It was indeed a "Wonderhouse," as Rudyard Kipling appropriately renders the word "*'ajaibghar*," the Hindūstānī designation for a museum. The sections were as numerous as irrepresentative. Side by side with Graeco-Buddhist sculptures were gaudy idols of modern Jaipur manufacture and stuffed animals of puzzling appearance. Valuable products of indigenous art were mixed up with toys which would have found a more suitable place in a nursery.

Perhaps the greatest curiosity of this collection of curiosities was the catalogue, printed in 1888, which had been compiled by some industrious babu, whose name unfortunately is lost to posterity. The man evidently took great pains to follow the instructions received from his superiors and must have experienced considerable difficulty in entering each object under the prescribed headings. In dealing with the Natural History section, he conscientiously started noting where each of his "zoological animals and birds" had been "manufactured," *e.g.*, shells, in "the ocean," crocodiles and alligators, in "the river Jumna," and sallu sanps (apparently a kind of snake), a lion and two two-headed buffaloes, in "the Wood." Under the heading "Architectural Collections" we find a Tibetan inscription entered as "1 Plate China" and an Armenian inscription (No. C 27 of the present catalogue) as "1 Plate Arminia."

In 1901 a foreign savant called the attention of Lord Curzon to the neglected state of the Delhi Museum which he described as "a howling wilderness." The matter was referred to the Archæological Department, and certain proposals were made which, however, only resulted in a removal of the most obviously useless exhibits. Among the suggestions then made was that of establishing a historical museum in the Naubat (or Naqār) K͟hāna which was to contain objects of

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* It appears from the old catalogue that at first one of the civil officers stationed at Delhi acted as a Honorary Curator.

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interest connected with the history of Delhi Fort.* At the time this proposal did not find favour with the local authorities. It was repeated in a more definite form in 1902, when Mr. J. H. Marshall had become the head of the Archæological Department.† It met with the approval of Lord Curzon, but was not carried into effect until 1907. It should be remembered that up to that time the Naubat Khāna was still occupied by the Officers of the M. S. and the R. A., and that the question of creating a new museum hung together with that of abolishing the old one.

In 1907 it was at last resolved to end the inglorious existence of the old "'Ajaibghar." Most of the exhibits, including a collection of Graeco-Buddhist sculptures, ‡ were made over to the Lahore Museum. A number of sculptural fragments from Indōr-Khērā (Bulandshahr District, U. P.) were sent to Lucknow to be placed in the Provincial Museum, and three inscribed Jaina sculptures to Mathurā (Muttra) from where they apparently originated. They are now deposited in the Municipal Museum at that place.

All objects relating to the history of Delhi, and particularly to that of the Delhi Fort, have been removed to the Naubat Khāna and now form the nucleus of a new collection which, it is hoped, will be extended on more systematic lines than the old one. To the exhibits of archæological and historical interest have been added a few remarkable specimens of indigenous art during the Mughal period. We have, moreover, succeeded in collecting a number of maps, pictures and photographs which show the city, the fort and the principal monuments of Delhi in previous stages of their existence.

I have composed the present catalogue in co-operation with Mr. R. Froude Tucker, Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, the present Curator, and with his assistant, Maulwi Muhammad Shu'aib who is responsible for all information regarding the Arabic and Persian inscriptions and the historical documents of the Muḥammadan period. Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner at Delhi, has undertaken to supplement and catalogue the coins belonging to the old museum, so as to form a classified collection representative of all the Muḥammadan rulers of Delhi. Mr. W. Irvine has favoured me with his opinion on some doubtful points in the interpretation of some of the Persian inscriptions in the Museum. Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., has kindly furnished me with some interesting notes on the vernacular portion of the Palampur inscription (B, 3). I am indebted to the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., of the Göttingen University, for the dates of the Sanskrit inscriptions (Nos. B,3—6 and C,31) and to Professor Holger Pedersen, of the Copenhagen University, for a translation of the Armenian inscription (No. C, 27). In determining the kinds of stone of which the

* Cf. my *Report on the Diwān-i-khāss and other buildings at Delhi*, dated the 14th April 1901.

† Cf. *Notes by the Director-General of Archæology on buildings of archæological and historical interest in Delhi*, dated 8th October 1902.

‡ Among these sculptures is one from Mathurā, namely the female statue discovered by Bhagvanlal Indraji in the Saptarshi Tila. Cf. *J.R.A.S.* for 1894, pp. 542 f.

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various objects are made, I consulted Signor Menegatti, the Florentine mosaicista, then engaged in restoring the throne of the Dīwān-i-'āmm.

A difficulty commonly met with in India, when dealing with collections of antiquities, is the absence of information regarding their provenance. In the present instance my main source was the catalogue referred to above, the scientific accuracy of which may be estimated from the examples quoted. In some cases the information it supplies is manifestly wrong, *e.g.*, where it asserts that the four elephant riders of the Delhi Gate (No. C, 7—10) described as "Idol of Jemal Fattah 4" originate from the Agra Fort. The small early-Paṭhān *miḥrāb* (No. B, 2) appears from Cunningham to have been found at Ōkhlā and not at Mihraulī as stated in the catalogue. As, however, other sources of information were available in only a very few cases, I had no choice but to reproduce whatever data the old catalogue contains, and have throughout referred to that publication. We may assume that, when objects are definitely stated to have come from the Delhi Fort, the catalogue can be trusted. This is, in any case, a point of considerable interest for our present purpose.

In the transliteration of Arabic and Persian the system of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has been followed. For Sanskrit and Hindi, I have chosen the system of the Epigraphia Indica as being more suitable for popular purposes than the international one.

In the first part of the present publication—consisting of the catalogue proper—such information has been supplied as appeared of interest to the public in general. The second part, containing the texts and translations of all inscriptions and *farmāns* in the Museum, is more especially meant for the use of students of local history. The list of coins by Mr. Whitehead has been published separately as it was received after the greater portion of the book had gone through the press. The two appendices are the work of the Curator.

As the present collection of antiquities, though limited in scope, relates to widely different fields of research, there exists the probability of the information supplied being incomplete or inaccurate. The compiler will be grateful for any additions or corrections suggested to him, which will be utilized in subsequent editions of this catalogue.

J. Ph. VOGEL, Ph.D.,
Superintendent,
Archæological Survey,
Northern Circle.

Simla:
The 16th October, 1908.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 2. A. 18. Terra-cotta figure of Sūrya. This terra-cotta is mentioned by Mrs. F. A. Steele in her recent work, "India through the ages," Rutledge & Sons, London, 1908. The distinguished authoress informs me that her information is derived from the following note in Balfour's Cyclopedia of India, p. 708 : "A little image near here (Sonepat) turned up in December 1864 when sinking a well. It is of clay, baked and polished like Chunar pottery. The figure is seated cross-legged, with a club in each hand. Below the left knee is a very short inscription in a very old Nagari character. General Cunningham has read this inscription and supposes the idol to be an *āditya* or image of the sun. The age of it he thinks to be about 1200 years; this agrees with the period of the seventh century."

Page 5. C. 15. Instead of *Al malik-u-Allah* read *Al maliku-l-lāhu.*

Page 7. Omit C. 40.

Page 11. G. 3. Instead of "Rabūpurā" read "Rabūpūra."

Page 15. Add K. 8, map of Delhi Fort copied from a map in the Library of the India Office, London. This map differs but slightly from No. K. 1.

Page 21. Mrs. Steele informs me that "the seven books of the bard Chand, author of *Pṛithvī Rāj Chauhān Rāsa*, notably the *Kanauj Khaṇḍ* which contains the story of Sunyogala, allude to Delhi as Yoginapura. They are written in archaic Hindī."

ADDENDA TO SECTION H.

H. 35. Portrait (4½″ × 5″) of S̲h̲āh Jahān (cf. No. H 18). This etching shows the head only, which is to the right.

H. 36. Portrait (water color 10½″ × 6½″) of Bahādur S̲h̲āh. The picture shows the Emperor seated on a prayer carpet to the right, with four of his court before him in attitudes of devotion.

H. 37. Portrait (3″ × 4″) of a lady of the Mug̲h̲al Court.

H. 38. Portrait (11″ × 8″) of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, seated to the right on his throne and the following prominent nobles of his Court :—

In front.

(1) Niẕāmu-l-Mulk.
(2) 'Itimādu-l-Mulk.
(3) 'Aẕimullah K̲h̲ān.
(4) Ṣamṣāmu-l-Daulah.
(5) Rājā Jai Singh Siwāi.

Behind.

(1) Muẕaffar K̲h̲ān.
(2) Burhānu-l-Mulk.
(3) Zafar K̲h̲ān.

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H. 39. Portrait (water color 5″ × 7″) of Colonel James Skinner, Bahādur. He is seated facing to the front, and is dressed in full court uniform.

H. 40. Portrait (water color 5″ × 3″) of George Thomas (cf. G 2 and 3) and the Begam Shimru, whom he served at the end of the 18th century.

H. 41. Portraits (water color, 5″ × 8″) of two Paṭhāns :—

(1) Dost Muḥammad Khān, to right ;

(2) Ghulām Haidar Khān, to left.

ADDENDA TO SECTION J.

J. 20. Water color (4½″ × 3″) of a Throne before the Mīzan-i-'Adl in the Khwābgāh.

J. 21. Pen drawing (7″ × 4″) of the Khwābgāh, showing Muthamman Burj, *pardah* screens (cf. No. J. 1) and water channel. This picture bears the dates 1263 A.H. and 1847 A.D. (see No. J. 27).

J. 22. Water color (4½″ × 3″) of Diwān-i-Khaṣ, showing awnings and *pardah* screens, also marble enclosure where petitioners stood in the time of the later Mughals.

J. 23. Pen drawing (7″ × 4″) of the Rang Maḥal. An exterior view showing *pardah* screens, Khas Khānas, tank and basin. This picture appears to be the original of the illustration facing page 36, Chap. II of Syed Ahmed's *Āthāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, which was first published in 1847 (see No. J. 27).

J. 24. Pen drawing (4″ × 4½″) of the interior of the Rang Maḥal showing the inlaid tank which was opened up in 1908. This picture appears at page 35 of the above-mentioned work (see No. J. 27).

J. 25. Pen drawing (5½″ × 4″) of the Diwān-i-'ām showing marble railing between the columns and railing in the courtyard. It also shows the Lāl Pardah Darwāza and " The houses of Mirza Bahādur, the heir apparent." (See No. J. 27).

J. 26. Water color (4⅓″ × 3″) of the Diwān-i-'ām. This picture shows the white shell-plaster with which the building was originally coated, and the marble railing between the columns ; also the railing of red wood in the court (cf. Nos. J. 26 and J. 27).

J. 27. Pen drawing (7″ × 4½″) of the Naqqār Khāna showing Diwān-i-'ām courtyard and railing. This picture shows that the platform on which the gateway rests was not continuous across the opening as it now is. It appears to be by the same hand and of the same series as Nos. J. 21, 23, 24 and 25.

J. 28. Water color (5″ × 3″) of the Shāh Burj and Pavilion, showing the Chhatri on the tower.

J. 29. Water color (5″ × 3″) of the Salīmgaṛh Bridge from the south, showing Selīmgaṛh and Fort.

J. 30. Water color (5″ × 3″) of Salīmgaṛh Bridge from north, showing Salīmgaṛh and Fort.

J. 31. Water color (4½″ × 3″) of Lahori Darwāza from west.

J. 32. Water color (8″ × 5″) of Lahori Darwāza from within the screen wall.

J. 33. Water color (9″ × 7″) of Lahori Darwāza from north-east, showing buildings which have now disappeared.

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J. 34. Water color (12″ × 7″) of the House of Mirza Bābar.

J. 35. Water color (13″ × 7½″) of the exterior of the fort from the river, showing the Moti Maḥal and buildings of the Seraglio south of the Rang Maḥal, which have now vanished.

NOTE.—The pictures numbered H. 35-41 & J. 20-35 were purchased from Muhammad Yakoob of Delhi.

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CATALOGUE.

PART I.

A. B. C.—SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS.*

A. Pre-Muhammadan Period.

A, 1—4. Four portions (ht : 5′, 4′ 10″, 4′ 1″ and 3′ 10½″) of pillars with recessed square shafts and profusely sculptured capitals of the pot-and-foliage type. They must have belonged to some mediæval Hindū temple and are said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). On the shaft of one of these pillars (No. 3) is the following inscription in Arabic محمد بن احمد "Muḥammad the son of Aḥmad." (*Old Catalogue* No. 824.)

A, 5. Fragment (ht : 3′ 1″) of a profusely carved pilaster of the pot-and-foliage type said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 825.)

A, 6. Fragment (ht : 8¼″) of a building stone carved with a border of conventional flowers. Find-place unknown.

A, 7-9. Three fragments (ht : 8½″ and 7″) of building stones carved with scrollwork. Find-place unknown.

A, 10. Frieze (ht : 10½″, width 2′ 1″) carved with a row of nine figures of dancers and musicians, perhaps representing Gaṇas or followers of S'iva. The stone probably belongs to a mediæval S'aiva temple. Find-place unknown.

A, 11. Frieze (ht : 10″, width 2′ 2″) carved with a row of ten figures defaced. Find-place unknown.

A, 12. Frieze (ht : 7″, width 2′ 4″) carved with a row of five geese. Find-place unknown.

A, 13. Torso (ht : 2′ 11″) of a male figure wearing a necklace with breast ornament, a *dhoti* with girdle and a scarf wrapped round the loins. Find-place unknown.

A, 14. Carved angle stone (ht : 1′ 6⅜″) of red sandstone, probably part of a doorjamb. Find-place unknown.

A, 15. Fragment (ht : 1′ 2½″) of a sculpture representing S'iva and Pārvatī seated on the bull Nandi and surrounded by numerous attendants On the pedestal are two kneeling figurines of devotees. Find-place unknown.

A, 16. Fragment (ht : 11″) of a sculpture in black marble, representing

* Detailed information regarding each inscription is given in Part II of this catalogue.

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a four-armed goddess, perhaps Vaishṇavī the female Energy (Sanskrit *Śakti*) of Vishṇu, seated in a chapel, the pillars of which are partly preserved, and holding a conch in one of her left hands. She is supported by a male figure (Garuḍa ?) From a label on the back it appears that the sculpture was found by General Cunningham. If identical with No. 804 of the *Old Catalogue*, it would seem to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb).

A, 17. Fragment (ht: 7″) of a sculpture of buff-coloured sandstone carved with a three-faced, four-armed male deity (Brahmā ?) with pointed beard, seated on a lotus seat and holding a water-vessel and a staff (?) in his left hands. The right arms are broken. To his right stands a female attendant. On the back of the sculpture is written in Persian characters : "February 12 san. 70." Find-place unknown.

A, 18. Plaque (ht: 1′ 2″, width 1′ 1″) of terra-cotta with a projecting figure of Sūrya, the Sun-god, seated on an ornamental cushion with the soles of his feet touching. Except for the nose, which is broken, the sculpture is well preserved. The god has a circular halo and long curly locks, and wears an ornamental head-dress and heavy earrings. He holds in each hand a palm (?) raised against his shoulders. His body is clad in a close-fitting tunic ornamented with a row of button-like bosses round the neck and from the neck down to the waist. He wears a plain girdle round his loins and high boots. In the lower, proper left corner of the sculpture the word *Ādhityaḥ** is written, which is another name of Sūrya. The character of the inscription proves that the terra-cotta belongs to the 7th or 8th century of the Christian era. It is said to originate from Sōnepat in the Delhi district. (*Old Catalogue* No. 777.)

A, 19. Casts (ht : 2′ 1″, 1′ 11½″ and 1′ 7¼″) of the capital of the "Iron Pillar" at Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 814.)

B. Paṭhān Period (A.D. 1200-1500).

B, 1. Miḥrāb (ht : 10′ 6½″) of an early Paṭhān tomb decorated with scrollwork and with Arabic inscriptions dated in the reign of Altimish. The tomb to which it belonged stood near the village of Ōkhlā about six miles to the south of Delhi. It was demolished in digging the Agra Canal which at this place leaves the Jamnā. A description of the tomb is given by Syed Ahmed and General Cunningham (*Old Catalogue* No. 832. Cf. *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, 1st ed., p. 53. *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. XX, p. 160).

B, 2. Miḥrāb (ht : 3′ 4½″) of an early Paṭhān tomb or mosque decorated with Arabic inscriptions, dated in the year A.H. 608 corresponding to A.D. 1210. The edifice to which it belonged was, therefore, built in the reign of Altimish whose accession took place in A.H. 607. Cunningham asserts that the lowest line contains the name of Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak who preceded Altimish. The Miḥrāb is believed to have come from Ōkhlā where No. B, 1 was found. In the Old Catalogue it is said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 821. *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. XX, p. 161.)

B, 3. Tablet (ht : 1′ 9″, width 3′ 10½″) inscribed with a well-preserved inscription of twenty-two lines. The language is Sanskrit and the character Nāgarī, except the last and part of the last but one line which are in the

* The same word is preserved in Hindi *Aitvār* meaning "Sunday," which is derived from Sanskrit *Āditya-vāra*.

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vernacular—presumably ancient Bāgṛī—and in the S'āradā character. It records the construction of a well at the village of Pālamba, the modern Pālam 12 miles south-west of Delhi City, by a Ṭhākur of the name of Uḍhar (Skr Uḍḍhara). His father had settled there from the village of Uchhāpura, the modern Uch in Bahāwalpur State (Panjāb) near the confluence of the Satluj, the Biās and the Chināb. It is dated in the Vikrama year 1337, the month of S'rāvaṇa (Hindī Sāvan), the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight, Wednesday, corresponding to the 26th June A.D. 1280, or 13th August A.D. 1281. The document mentions the early Paṭhān sultans of Delhi : S͟hahābu-d-dīn G͟hōrī (A.D. 1191-1205), Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak (A.D. 1205-1210), S͟hamsu-d-din Altimis͟h (A.D. 1210-1235), Ruknu-d-dīn Fīrōz S͟hāh (A.D. 1235-1236), Jalālu-d-dīn Raziyya (A.D. 1236-1240), Muizzu-d-dīn Bahrām (A.D. 1239-1241), 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'ūd (A.D. 1241-1246), Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (A.D. 1246-1265) and G͟hiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban (A.D. 1265-1287) in whose reign the inscription was engraved. It was discovered in the village of Bohar, Rohtak district, and was first discussed by Syed Ahmed. The original was lost sight of during the Mutiny, but was recovered at Rohtak by Mr. J. G. Delmerick. It was then edited by Rajendra Lal Mitra. Major A. C. Barton, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak District, presented it to the Museum in January 1908. The Municipal Museum possessed only a facsimile. (*Old Catalogue* No. 798. Cf. *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpur, 1904—last chapter, pp. 73-81 ; Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London, 1871, pp. 136-138 ; and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIII (1874), Part I, pp. 104-110, with facsimile.)

B, 4. Tablet (ht : 11″, width 1′ 3½″) inscribed with a partly defaced Sanskrit inscription of seventeen lines. It records the construction of a well and is dated in the Vikrama year 1347,* the month of Phālguna (Hindī Phāgun), the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight, Monday, corresponding to the 5th February A.D. 1291, and in the reign of Jalālu-d-dīn Fīrōz S͟hāh (A.D. 1290-1295), the first ruler of the K͟hiljī dynasty. It probably originates from Sōnepat in the Delhi district. (*Old Catalogue* No. 796.)

B, 5. Tablet (ht : 1′ 1″, width 1′ 6″) inscribed with a partly defaced Sanskrit inscription of twenty-one lines. It records the construction of a well by a Brahmin of the name of S'rīdhara at the village of Nāḍāyana, the modern Nārāyana, 7 miles south-west of Delhi. It is dated in the Vikrama year 1384, the month of Bhādrapada (Hindī Bhādõ), the 3rd lunar day of the dark fortnight, Thursday, corresponding to the 6th August A.D. 1327, and in the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh Tug͟hlaq (A.D. 1325-1351). It was deciphered by Pandit Vishveshvar Nath of Delhi and published with an English translation by Rajendra Lal Mitra. (*Old Catalogue* No. 796. Cf. *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1873, pp. 104-107.)

B, 6. Tablet (ht : 11″, width 1′ 5″) inscribed with a well-preserved inscription of eighteen lines. It records the construction of a well by two merchants, the brothers Khetala and Paitala, at the village of Sāravala, the modern Sārbān (or Sārbān Sarāi), 5 miles south of Delhi. It is dated in the Vikrama year 1384, the month of Phālguna (Hindī Phāgun), the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight, Tuesday, corresponding to the 16th February A.D. 1328, and in the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh Tug͟hlaq (A.D. 1325—1351). It was deciphered by Pandit Vishveshvar Nath of Delhi and published with an English translation by Rajendra Lal Mitra. Subsequently, it was re-edited by Professor J. Eggeling, Ph.D., of the Edinburgh University. (*Old Catalogue* No. 796. Cf. *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1873, pp. 102-104 ; and *Epigr. Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.)

*** The inscription seems also to have contained the S'aka year 1213.**

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C. Mughal Period (A.D. 1500-1857).

C, 1—6. *Tombstones.**

C, 1. Tombstone (ht : 11″, base 5′ 9″ by 1′ 2″) of red sandstone decorated with Arabic inscriptions consisting of quotations from the Qurān. It is hollowed out, presumably for the reception of grass or flowers.† It is said to have been found about 1904, together with the inscribed slab No. C, 17, near Nizāmu-d-dīn, at the time when the Agra Canal was dug.

C, 2. Tombstone (ht : 1′ 9″, base 6′ 4¼″ by 2′ 4½″) of white marble decorated with Arabic inscriptions consisting of quotations from the Qurān. The *qalamdān* carved on the top indicates that it was placed over the grave of a male. It is said to originate from Salīmgaṛh. (*Old Catalogue* No. 817.)

C, 3. Tombstone (ht : 1′ 9″, base 6′ by 2′ 4″) of white marble with a narrow oblong cavity, probably intended for the reception of grass or flowers. (Cf. above sub No. C, 1.) It is said to have been found about 1903 inside the barbican of the Delhi Gate of Delhi City. (Cf. beneath J. 17.)

C, 4. Tombstone (ht : 1′ 2″, base 5′ 9″ by 2′ 7″) of white marble. The *takhtī* carved on the top indicates that it was placed over the grave of a female. It is said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 827.)

C, 5. Tombstone (ht : 5″, base 4′ by 1′ 5½″) of white marble profusely sculptured. The *takhtī* carved on the top indicates that it was placed over the grave of a female. It is said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 827.)

C, 6. Small tomb stone (ht : 11″, base 2′ 5″ by 1′ 7″) of white marble. The *takhtī* carved on the top indicates that it was placed over the grave of a female. It is said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 827.)

C, 7—10. Four red sandstone figures (ht : 4′ 4″, 3′ 10″, 3′ 9½″ and 2′ 10½″) of elephant riders belonging to the two stone elephant statues which stood at the Delhi Gate of the Fort in the reign of Shāh Jahān. (See No. C, 11.) According to Bernier, two of the figures represent Jaimall and Fateh the Rājpūt Chiefs who defended Chitōṛ against Akbar. If so, the two remaining figures would be their *mahauts*. It is, however, more likely that the elephant statues were meant for fighting elephants, each mounted by two men, as was the custom on occasion of elephant fights. The heads of Nos. C, 7 and 9 have been refixed. The heads of Nos. C, 8 and C, 10 are missing. That of No. C, 8 was reconstructed presumably in 1892. (*Old Catalogue* No. 823.)

C, 11. Fragments of the two elephant statues which stood at the Delhi Gate of the Fort in the reign of Shāh Jahān and were removed by order of Aurangzeb. The fragments were discovered after the Mutiny, when a large

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* Four of these tombstones were entered in the Old Catalogue (Nos. 817 and 827) under the enigmatical designation of "tomb amulet." It should be remembered that Arabic تعويز has the meaning both of "an amulet" and "a tombstone," the original meaning being "a quotation from the sacred scriptures." It is uncertain whether they belong to the Paṭhān or to the Mughal period. The information regarding their provenance was supplied by the custodian of the Old Museum.

† The practice of planting grass and flowers over the grave is referred to in Persian epitaphs, e.g., in that of Jahānārā Begam, the daughter of Shāh Jahān : "Do not cover my grave with anything but green, for a grave-covering of the poor this grass is enough."

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portion of the Mughal palace was being demolished for military purposes. With these fragments an elephant statue was constructed in 1866. It stood first in a remote corner of the Queen's Gardens, was from there removed in 1892 to the Chandni Chauk in front of the Town Hall (the place now occupied by the Queen's statue) and finally placed at the back of that building. (Cf. beneath No. J, 16.) It was taken down in 1905, when the Government had two new elephant statues erected on the site at the Delhi Gate once occupied by the originals. The new elephants are carved after a model prepared by Mr. R. D. Mackenzie with the aid of the remaining fragments. (On the history of the Delhi elephant statues see Appendix I.)

C, 12. Tablet (ht : 1′ 10″, width 3′ 5″) of white marble recording the removal of the reconstructed elephant statue, referred to above sub. No. C, 11 to the Chandni Chauk in 1892.

C, 13. Model of the new elephant statues now replacing the originals at the Delhi Gate of the Fort. Cf. above No. C, 11. It bears the signature of the artist " R. D. Mackenzie, 1904."

C, 14. Elephant bracket (ht : 1′ 8″) of red sandstone belonging to a building of the early Mughal period. The two figures on the elephant are broken. Similar brackets occur in the early Mughal buildings in the Lahore Fort and in the temple of Jugal Kishōr at Brindāban, near Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra). Find-place unknown. (*Old Catalogue* No. 801.)

C, 15. Medallion (diameter 1′ 7½″) of stucco inscribed with the Arabic formula *Al malik-u-Allah*, " God is King," within a decorative border. It probably belongs to some early Mughal mosque. Similar stucco decoration is found in the Khairu-l-manāzil opposite Purānā Qil'a (Indrapat) and Moth-ki-Masjid on the Quṭb road. It is said to originate from Mihrauli or Old Delhi (Quṭb). (*Old Catalogue* No. 781).

C, 16. Circular stool (ht : 2½″, diameter 1′ 1¼″) of sandstone inscribed with an inscription in Arabic and Persian. The first six lines contain a chapter from the Qurān in Arabic. The seventh or last line in Persian contains the date A.H. 968 corresponding to A.D. 1560. It has three legs, one of which is broken. The centre of the reverse is carved with a rosette. As appears from the label on the back, it originates from Sambhal in the Murādābād District of the United Provinces. (*Old Catalogue* No. 780.)

C, 17. Slab (ht : 2′ 7″, width 1′ 7″) of white marble inscribed with a Persian inscription of twenty-three lines. It records the construction of a family tomb (Persian *gor-khāna*) together with a well, a mosque, and a rest-house by Maḥmūd Khān who lived in the reigns of Humāyūn, Akbar, and Jahāngīr. The inscription is dated in the year A.H. 1002 corresponding to A.D. 1593, but this is probably a mistake for A. H. 1022—A.D. 1613-14, as in A.H. 1002 Akbar was still reigning. It is said to have been found near Nizāmu-d-din together with the tombstone No. C, 1.

C, 18. Slab (ht : 1′ 8½″, width 3′ 9″) of white marble inscribed with a Persian inscription of four lines. It records the construction of the Salīmgaṛh bridge by the Emperor Jahāngīr in the 17th year of his reign or A H. 1031 corresponding to A.D. 1621. (*Old Catalogue* No. 830. On the Salīmgaṛh bridge cf. *Āsārū-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpur, 1904, pp. 60 f. ; *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. II, p. 223 ; and Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 195 f. See also beneath Nos. J, 9 and 10.)

C, 19. Slab (ht : 1′ 6½″, width 9′ 1″) of red sandstone inscribed with a Persian inscription of two lines. It records the construction of a *sarāi* by a lady named Khāṣṣ Maḥall in the reign of Shāh Jahān in the year 1052 corresponding to A.D. 1642. According to Syed Ahmed, the building in

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question stood near the Purānā Qil'a. The foundress was a daughter of Zain Khān, a general of the Emperor Akbar.* (*Old Catalogue* No. 815. Cf. *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣānadīd*, Cawnpur, 1904, p. 63.)

C. 20. Capital (ht : 1′ 1″, 1′ 9″ square) of red sandstone, said to have belonged to a mosque which stood near the Qāzī kā Hauz.

C, 21—23. Three capitals (ht : 2′ 3″) of red sandstone, probably belonging to a building of the Mughal period. (*Old Catalogue* No. 816.)

C, 24. Shaft (ht : 6′) of a pillar of red sandstone covered with shell plaster, found in 1906 in the course of excavations in the Hayāt Bakhsh Garden near the well of Bahādur Shāh. It probably belongs to some garden pavilion demolished after the Mutiny.

C, 25. Carved marble *mutakka* post excavated in 1905 at the back of the Dīwān-i-'āmm.

C, 26. Trough (6′ 3″ by 2′) of red sandstone found in 1906 in the course of excavation in the Hayāt Bakhsh Garden near the well of Bahādur Shāh.

C, 27. Tablet (ht : 8¼″, width 1′ ¾″) of white marble inlaid with an Armenian inscription of four lines in black marble. In the centre of the inscription is a cross. The inscription has been translated by Professor Holger Pedersen of Copenhagen : "With the aid of God, the house of the Urumian Joseph Diphanos, in the year of Jesus 1781." We may safely assume that the word Urumiathsi (Urumian) is derived from Urumiah in Persia. The tablet was probably let in the wall of a house built by the Armenian named in the inscription. No information is available regarding its acquisition. (*Old Catalogue* No. 797.)

C, 28. Basin (ht : 2′ 1″, base 3′ by 2′) of white marble inscribed with a Persian inscription in one line. It records : *Āb-i-Qadamu-sh-sharīf Muḥammad Rasūl-ullah* 1222 "Water of the holy footprint of Muḥammad the Prophet of God A.H. 1222." This date corresponds to A.D. 1807. Syed Ahmed mentions that "a shrine with a Holy Footprint" (*Darga Qadam Sharīf*) was placed in the Mahtāb Bāgh or "Moonlight Garden" of the Delhi Palace. The date of the inscription shows that this basin belongs to the time of Akbar II (A.D. 1806—1837) and was carved in the second year of his reign. On the old map of Delhi (see beneath No. K, 2) we find the name *Darga Qadam Sharīf* in the centre of the north side of the palace garden Mahtāb Bagh. This not only proves that the marble basin belongs to the Fort, as is stated in the Old Catalogue, but it also enables us approximately to fix the date of the map. (*Old Catalogue* No. 820. *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, 2nd edition, Lucknow, 1876, chapter II, p. 21.)

C, 29. Slab (1′ 4″ by 1′ 4½″) of white marble with two footprints supposed to be the footprints of the Prophet. It is possibly the "Holy Footprint" belonging to the marble basin No. C, 28. (*Old Catalogue* No. 788.)

C, 30. Screen (ht : 3′ 9½″) of pierced marble. It must have belonged to some Mughal building and is possibly the "jali" mentioned in the old catalogue in connection with No. C, 28. (*Old Catalogue* No. 820.)

C, 31. Tablet (1′ 1″ square) of buff-coloured marble, inscribed with an inscription of eight lines in a mixture of Sanskrit and Hindī (Braj-bhākhā). It records the erection of an image (or *liṅga*) of Śiva at a cost of Rs. 500-4 by Durgā Bāi, the wife of Pūrnānand, a Bhaṭṭ by caste, in the Vikrama year

* Jahāngīr married a daughter of Zain Khān against the wishes of his father. This is perhaps the lady in question.

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1877, the S'aka year 1742, the month Māgha, the 11th day of the bright fortnight, Monday, corresponding to the 12th February (new style) A.D. 1821. Provenance unknown. (*Old Catalogue* No. 779.)

C, 32. Statuette (ht : 1′ 10″) of painted marble representing a four-armed Hindū goddess standing on a lotus, in front of which there is an animal, apparently meant for a mongoose. On the front of the base is the figure of a tortoise, indicating that the image represents the river goddess Jamnā (Sanskrit Yamunā). The idol is said to have been found inside a well near Humāyūn's Tomb.

C, 33—36. Four slabs (ht : 12½″ to 13½″ long) of sandstone each carved with a footprint. In the old catalogue they are described as "footprints of Hindu Gods." (*Old Catalogue* No. 786.)

C, 37. Slab (9¾″ by 8¾″) of Agra sandstone carved with a handprint supposed to be that of the Prophet. (*Old Catalogue* No. 787.)

C 38. Stone prayer block (5¼″ by 3⅝″) called *sijdah-gāh* in Persian and used by the Shiyās in praying. When prostrating, they touch the stone with their forehead. (*Old Catalogue* No. 789.)

C. 39. Balustrade (ht: 9″, width 1′ 10½″) of pierced white marble carved with a conventionalized flower and trellis pattern. It is said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace.

C, 40. Three stone blocks with a fragmentary Persian inscription. The stones were purchased by a stone mason at a public sale a few years ago, but no information is available regarding their origin. The inscription is too fragmentary to convey any sense. The use of the word *Jail-Khāna* (English *jail*) shows that it cannot be anterior to the British occupation of Delhi.

D.—FURNITURE AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

D, 1. Armchair of carved wood, painted and gilt, said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace. (*Old Catalogue* No. 137.)

D, 2. Armchair of carved and gilded wood with velvet cushions, said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace. (*Old Catalogue* No. 137.)

D, 3. Armchair of pierced white marble painted and gilt, said to have been manufactured at Jaipur in Rājpūtānā and to have belonged to the Delhi Palace. Legs refixed. (*Old Catalogue* No. 430.)

D, 4. Arm-piece of a chair of pierced white marble, said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace. (*Old Catalogue* No. 833 ?)

D, 5. Back-piece of a chair of carved white marble, said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace. (*Old Catalogue* No. 833 ?)

D, 6-7. Two table tops of white marble, said to have belonged to the Delhi palace. (*Old Catalogue* No. 429).

D, 8. Musical clock of carved ivory and wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The central panel beneath the face contains a crest with three ostrich plumes, apparently that of the Prince of Wales. It is said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace, and is stated in the Old Catalogue to have been presented to Jahāngīr. Judging from its style, however, it seems to be a work of the 18th century. Possibly it was presented to Mirzā Jahāngīr, the son of Akbar II, who died at Allahabad in A.D. 1832 and was buried at Nizāmu-d-dīn. (*Old Catalogue* No. 327. Cf. Heber, *Journey through Upper India*, Vol. I, p. 554.)

D, 9. Toilet box of wood decorated with mirrors and miniatures of

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notable Muhammadan buildings in a framework of ivory and ebony. Two of the miniatures represent churches. It was manufactured at Delhi and presented to the Municipal Museum by Lala Mahesh Das a resident of that city. (*Old Catalogue* No. 329.)

D, 10. Prayer carpet (Arabic *muṣalla*) of the Mug͟hal period consisting of ten divisions. It was purchased for the Museum by the Director-General of Archæology.

D, 11-13. Three stone carpet weights (Persian *mīr-farsh*) of different sizes. No. D, 12 is of jasper, and Nos. D, 11 and D 13 of a kind of granite called *sang-i-abrī* in Persian.

D, 14. Stone weight (?) inscribed three times with the name of 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) and the dates 47, 48, and 49 referring to the years of his reign. It was presented to the Municipal Museum by Nawab Ziya-ud-din Khan. (*Old Catalogue* No. 778.)

D, 15-16. Two embroidered fans (Hindī *sūrajmukhī*, literally "sunflower") attached to silver-encased staffs, said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace. The flounces are modern. (*Old Catalogue* No. 28.)

D, 17. Standard with a copper fish surmounted by a hand of the same metal. It was preserved in the Lahore Museum till January, 1908, when it was transferred to Delhi. The right of carrying such fish standards (Persian ماهي مراتب) was a privilege conferred by the Mug͟hal emperors and other princes on distinguished nobles. Among the honours bestowed on Dupleix by Muzaffar Jang was that of having the fish carried in front of him. According to Valentijn, the fish standard and similar insignia were placed on elephants. The Mug͟hal emperors themselves had a great number of standards with various symbols carried in front of them.

Bernier refers to this custom in the following passage :—Devant eux (les Manseb-dars) marche pompeusement ce qu'on appelle le Kours (Persian قورس) ; ce sont plusieurs figures d' argent, portées sur le bout de certains gros bâtons d'argent fort beaux et fort bien travaillez ; dont il y en a deux qui representent deux grands poissons ; deux autres qui representent un Animal fantastique d' horrible figure qu'ils appellent Eiedeha (Persian اژدها a dragon), d'autres qui representent deux Lions, d'autres deux Mains, d'autres des Balances, et ainsi je ne sais combien d'autres figures dont ils font leurs Mystéres."

(Cf. Valentijn, *Levens der Groot Mogols*, p. 299. Bernier, *Voyages* (Amsterdam 1699), Vol. 11, p. 49 ; English translation (Constable), p. 266 ; and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), p. 50, footnote.)

D, 18. Capital (ht : 6″) of a dwarf pillar of white marble elaborately carved and inlaid with conventional flowers in *pietra dura*.

D, 19. Bowl with cover of white marble inlaid with gold and jewels.

D, 20. Cover of a bowl of chalcedony carved and fluted, originally inlaid with jewels. Knob broken. Signor Menegatti has kindly supplied the following interesting note on this object : "The present cover, the base of which is wanting, is of chalcedony (white agate) and probably of the species which is found in Volterra in Italy, because I find in the collection which I brought with me from Italy some pieces that are very similar to it. The work on the cup has been executed with the *castelletto*, a tool which resembles a lathe, and in which very small copper-wheels are used. These wheels are sprinkled with hard sand mixed with water, and, being revolved at great velocity, they cut away those parts of the stone which are to be removed. This work may have been executed by a native workman, as I

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have noticed that natives use, for working hard kinds of stone, small wheels made of lake (?) and grains of flint stone or of ruby. But by this system it is impossible to obtain perfect work, and, as the cup has several imperfections, I infer the workmanship of it to be Indian, but the stone to be from Volterra, as I have said above, because here in India such chalcedonies are only to be had in very small fragments, whilst in Italy very large pieces are found." The object is probably identical with the cover of a cup said to originate from the Delhi Fort. (*Old Catalogue* No. 417.)

D, 21-22. Two poison (?) plates of green enamelled pottery said to have belonged to the Delhi Palace.

D, 23. Vase of green majolica carved with a raised decorative design above a conventional border of leaves, handles with pendant rings (one broken) and a wreath in high relief round the neck.

D, 24. Dagger sheath of green agate said to originate from the Delhi Palace. (*Old Catalogue* No. 403, where it is erroneously stated to be made of jasper, Persian *sang-i-yashab.*)

D, 25. Peacock of copper originally gilt. Head missing. In the old catalogue it is stated to originate from the Delhi Fort and to have belonged to the Peacock Throne; but the latter point may rightly be doubted. (*Old Catalogue* No. 454.)

D, 26. Chinese watch, apparently belonging to the toilet box. (See above No. D, 9 and *Old Catalogue* No. 329.)

D, 27. Specimens of *pietra dura* used in the decoration of the marble throne in the Dīwān-i-'ām.

E.—ARMS.

E, 1. Cannon (1½″ bore, 2′ 4″ over all) of bronze, muzzle-loading, with six moulded bands, mounted on fully-equipped carriage.

E, 2. Toy cannon (1¼″ bore, 1′ 7″ over all) of brass, said to have been found in a well. It was acquired for the old museum by the Municipal Committee. (*Old Catalogue* No. 964.)

E, 3. Toy cannon (¾″ bore, 7½″ over all) mounted on a miniature carriage.

E, 4-23. Twenty spears said to have come from the Fort. (*Old Catalogue* No. 934.)

E, 24-38. Fifteen swords, of which two are in sheaths.

E, 39-41. Three Rājpūt daggers (*kaṭār*) in sheaths. (*Old Catalogue* No. 938.)

E, 42. One sword stick (*guptī*).

E, 43-44. Two pistols.

E, 45-48. Four helmets, two of steel, one of iron and one of brass. The brass helmet is a specimen worn by the body-guard of Ranjit Singh, the great Sikh Rājā of the Panjāb (died in 1839). This appears from the inscription in Persian characters which it bears.

اکال سهای	"May the Eternal help us!
زر ثمان کرد نادر خاص	. . . .
فتح یا شهید	Victory or Martyr[dom]!
سموت ۱۸۹۵	In the year 1895."

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The Vikrama year 1895 corresponds to A.D. 1837-38. The armoury in the Lahore Fort contains several similar helmets with the same date and inscription.

F.—SEAL STONES AND SIGNETS.

These intaglioes are entered in the old catalogue (No. 278) as " 6 seals of rebels of 1857, from Commissioner's office." The sixth stone apparently disappeared in the Old Museum.

F, 1. Rectangular seal stone (0 m. 03 by 0 m. 024) of cornelian with inscriptions in Persian: " *Rājah Nāhar Singh Bahādur* A.H. 1245 " and in Nāgarī : " *Srī-Sītā-Rām-Jī Sahāy Rājā Nāhar Si[ṅ]gh Bahādur.*" The seal belonged to Rājā Nāhar Siṅgh of Ballabhgaṛh who took part in the Mutiny.

F, 2. Elliptical seal stone (0 m. 018 by 0 m. 013) of jasper with inscription in Persian: "*Rājah Nāhar Singh Bahādur A.H.* 1245." Cf. above No. F, 1.

F, 3. Rectangular seal stone (0 m. 015 by 0 m. 012) of green *aqua marina* with inscriptions in Roman: " *Raja Nahur Sing Bahadoor A D.* 1856," in Persian: " *Rājah Nāhar Singh Bahādur A.H.* 1273," and in Nāgarī : " *Rājā Nāhar Siṁgh Bahādur* 1913." Cf. above No. F, I.

F, 4. Elliptical seal (0 m. 023 by 0 m. 016) of cornelian with inscription in Persian: " *Mirza Muḥammad Naṣīr u-d-dīn Ḥaidar Bahādur Aulād-i-Tīmūr A.H.* 1251."

F, 5. Rectangular seal (0 m. 015 by 0 m. 013) of cornelian with inscription in Persian; " *Bahādur Jang K͟hān Wald Isma'īl K͟hān A.H.* 1230."

F, 6. Seal impression of a rectangular seal (0 m. 006 by 0 m. 005) with inscription in Persian : " *Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Alī K͟hān Bahādur A.H.* 1271."

F, 7. Sheet with the engravings of signets of the following persons:—

(*a*) Mahārājā Dhalīp Siṅgh (*vulgo* Dhuleep Singh), the last Sikh ruler of the Panjāb.

(*b*) Fancy signet.

(*c*) Mahārājā of Bharatpur.

(*d*) George Frederic Hampton.

(*e*) Dr. Tomkyns.

F, 8. Sheet with the engraving of a fancy seal engraved by the famous Delhi artist Badru-d-din who won the medal at the Exhibition of 1851. This seal took four months to engrave in four languages.

G.—FARMANS.

G, 1. Illuminated *farmān* (3′ 5″ by 2′ ½″) dated in the second year of the reign of Akbar II on Sunday, the 6th of the month of Safar, corresponding to A.H. 1223 (A.D. 1808) the 15th Farwardi. It contains a string of high-sounding titles, and records that the dignity of a commander of 4000 foot and 2000 horse is conferred upon Faujdār K͟hān together with the title of Rafiq Jang Bahādur which he inherited from his father. (*Old Catalogue* No. 574.)

G, 2. Illuminated *farmān* (3′ 5″ by 2′ ½″) dated in the 25th year of the reign of Akbar II corresponding to A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1829) on the 5th of the month of Jumādi-ul-awal, by which the said king confers on Colonel James

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Skinner the title of Nāṣiru-d-daulah Bahādur 'Alī Jang. (*Old Catalogue* No. 574.)

G, 3. Illuminated *farmān* (2′ 1″ by 1′ 2″) dated in the 30th year of the reign of Akbar II corresponding to A.H. 1250 (A.D. 1834) on the 27th of the month of Shawāl, by which the said king grants to Nāṣiru-d-daulah Colonel James Skinner Bahādur 'Alī Jang the village of Rabūpurā in perpetual lease. The concluding portion of this *farmān*, in which the king calls on the various officers concerned to act in accordance with his orders, curiously recalls similar passages in some of the ancient title-deeds of the Hindū period. (*Old Catalogue* No. 574.)

H.—INDIAN PICTURES AND PORTRAITS.

H, 1-15. Photographic reproductions of portraits of the following fifteen Mughal emperors originals in the possession of Messrs Bourne & Shepherd.

Akbar (1556-1605).
Jahāngīr (1605-1627).
Shāh Jahān (1628-1658).
Aurangzeb or 'Ālamgīr (1659-1707).
Bahādur Shāh or Shāh 'Ālam I (1707-1712).
Jahāndār Shāh (1712).
Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719).
Rafiu-darajat (1719).
Rafiu-d-daulah (1719).
Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748).
Aḥmad Shāh (1748-1754).
'Ālamgīr II (1754-1759).
Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806).
Akbar II (1806-1837).
Bahādur Shāh (1837-1857).

H, 16. Portrait (12½″ by 9¾″) of the Emperor Humāyūn (born A.D. 1507; reigned: (1) 1530-1541; (2) 1554-1555) seated on a gilded chair to the right, with a gold halo. Plain border. (*Old Catalogue* No. 570.)

H, 17. Portrait (12″ by 7¼″) of Abūl-Faẓl, minister of Akbar and author of the Āīn-i-Akbarī. He is shown seated to the left in a gilded arm-chair and holding a rosary in his right hand. Illuminated border of floral design. Inscription in Persian : شیخ ابوالفضل وزیر خاقان

H, 18. Portrait (16½″ by 10¾″) of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, born A.D. 1591, reigned A.D. 1625-1658, died A.D. 1665. He is shown on horseback to the right holding a lance in his left hand. A bow in a case hangs at the side of his horse. Outline of halo marked in gold. Illuminated border of floral design and *zar-fashān* outside. (*Old Catalogue* No. 569.)

H, 19. Portrait (14″ by 10″) of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, born A.D. 1683, murdered by the Sayyids in A.D. 1719, and buried on the terrace of the Mausoleum of Humāyūn. He is seated in a gilded arm-chair to the left and holds a flower in his right hand. Gold-edged halo. Illuminated border of floral design. Inscription in Persian on balustrade :

شبیه صعاک فرخ سیر بادشاه غازي

H, 20. Picture (10″ by 13¾″) representing the Emperor Farrukhsiyar shooting buck. He is seated on a carpet with two men in front who

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apparently support his matchlock and hold a bush in front as a screen. Two men in the foreground are hiding between shrubs. Four other men are partly visible over the rocks in the background. Illuminated border of stilizised floral design and outer *zar-fashān* border.

H, 21. Portrait (14″ by 10″, of Nawāb Asad K͟hān Bahādur. He is seated against a cushion to the right and smokes a *huqqa*. He wears a fur tippit and a Rājpūt dagger (Hindi *kaṭār*) in his girdle. Inner border of floral stilizised design; outer border of geometrical design. Inscription in Persian on the *huqqa* :

شبیه نواب اسد خان بهادر

Mr. H. Beveridge surmises that the picture represents Nawāb Asad K͟han, who was the wazīr of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and died in A.D. 1716. But Mr. Irvine, in view of the absence of any titles, thinks it more probable that it is a more modern and comparatively obscure Asad K͟hān.

H, 22. Portrait (14″ by 10″) of Man Padhārt (?) Bahādur. He is standing to the left and wears Mug͟hal court dress. His right hand rests on the hilt of the Rājpūt dagger (*kaṭār*), stuck in his girdle. Triple illuminated border of floral design. Inscription in Persian : شبیه من پدهارت بهادر

H, 23. Portrait (14″ by 9¾″) of Rājā Sītā Rām Bahādur. He is standing to the right and wears Mug͟hal court-dress. His right hand rests on the hilt of the Rājpūt dagger (Hindi *kaṭār*) stuck in his girdle. In his left hand he holds a rose. Double illuminated border of floral design. Inscription in Persian to left of the figure : شبیه راجه سیتا رام بهادر

Mr. Beveridge surmises that the person represented is the Rājā Sītā Rām, mentioned in the Siyaru-l-Mutak͟hk͟hirīn (reprint Vol. II, pp. 389 and 427), who was afterwards executed.

H, 24. Portrait (13¾″ by 9¾″) of ʻĀlam K͟hān Kalānūt (read "Kalāwant"), *i.e.*, ʻĀlam K͟hān the musician. He is seated on the floor to the left and playing on a kind of guitar (Pers. *ṭanbūra*). Double illuminated border of floral design. Inscription in Persian over figure : عالم خان کلانوت (کلاونت)

H, 25. Portrait (14¼″ by 10″) of an anonymous female seated to the right against a cushion and reading a letter while she smokes a *huqqa*. Inner plain indigo-coloured border; outer *zar-fashān* border.

H, 26. Picture (23¾″ by 19½″) representing an anonymous prince. It is night, as appears from moon, stars, torches and candles. He is seated against a cushion under a canopy to the right and smokes a *huqqa*. The absence of a halo is noteworthy. A curved sword, a spittoon, and some other objects are placed on the carpet on which he sits. In front of the carpet are a little table with refreshments and two curious-shaped candlesticks. In front a number of dancing girls are performing. Two are dancing and the rest play on various instruments. In the foreground others are seated, evidently waiting their turn. Their musical instruments are lying beside them. Behind the king some female attendants are standing, some holding refreshments and others peacock-feather chowries. In the background a pond with lotus flowers and water-fowl. Illuminated border of floral design with green parrots introduced between flowers. (*Old Catalogue* No. 568.)

H, 27-31. Five autotypes of Mug͟hal pictures belonging to the collection of Colonel H. B. Hanna.

H, 27. Angels ministering unto Christ. (Collection Hanna. No. 21.)

H, 28. Deer stalking by night. (Collection Hanna. No. 23.)

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H, 29. A village scene. (Collection Hanna. No. 25.)

H, 30. The Emperor Jahāngīr in his Palace. (Coll. Hanna. No. 117.)

H, 31. The Emperor Akbar in his Palace, with Salīm, afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr.

H, 32. Genealogical tree of a line of Mughal kings of the house of Chingiz with miniature portraits of the following :—

No. 1. Urs Khān.
No. 2. Darwesh Khān.
No. 3. Yaghtamish (Toqtāmish ?) Khān.
No. 4. Sulṭān Jalāl.
No. 5. Karīm Birdī.
No. 6. Kibak Khān.
No. 7. Aulābchī.
No. 8. Sartāq.
No. 9. Mankā (Mangū) Tīmūr.
No. 10. Todā Mankā (Mangū).
No. 11. Kunchuk.
No. 12. Tūlabughā.
No. 13. Alghui.
No. 14. Tughril.
No. 15. Toqtu.

(*Cf*. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 240, and Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, p. 642).

H, 33. Collection of miniature portraits of the following Mughal princes of the house of Tīmūr :—

No. 1. Sulṭān Ṣāḥib-Qirān * Amīr Tīmūr Gorkan (*alias* Tamerlane).
No. 2. Abū-n-Naṣr Sulṭān Shāhrukh Bahādur Khān.
No. 3. Amīrzāda Muḥammad Bāqir.
No. 4. Amīrzāda 'Umar Bahādur.
No. 5. Amīrzāda Sulṭān Muḥammad.
No. 6. Amīrzāda Khalīl Sulṭān.
No. 7. Amīrzāda Aijīl.
No. 8. Amīrzāda Siyurightamish.
No. 9. Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd.
No. 10. Amīrzāda Ailangīn.

(*Cf*. Lane-Poole, p. 268).

H, 34. Collection of 11 Mughal pictures purchased from a Delhi dealer by the Director-General of Archæology. The pictures are numbered from 1 to 20, but Nos. 1-4, 9, 10, 12, 14 and 16 are now preserved in the Peshawar Museum. These numbers refer to a merely fictitious list which was supplied with the pictures. On the back of the pictures are the following titles in Persian :—

No. 5. Birth of Tānā Shāh.
No. 6. Tārā [Pa]tī and Peva Patī, or (?) the prince and the son of the minister. A.H. 1101.
No. 7. Wedding of Tānā Shāh.

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* Ṣāḥib-Qirān means "Lord of the happy Conjunction," a title used first by Tīmūr and afterwards by Shāh Jahān.

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No. 8. Wedding procession of Tānā Shāh.
No. 11. Farewell of Tānā Shāh.
No. 13. Ditto. Ditto.
No. 15. Farewell of Bānū Begam.
No. 18. Tānā Shāh in the Chār Maḥall.
No. 18. Tānā Shāh with Bānū Begam in the Chār Maḥall.
No. 19. Tānā Shāh hunting (?).
No. 20. Tānā Shāh Sāghir (?).

The Tānā Shāh to whom the titles refer is probably Abul Ḥasan Tānā Shāh the king of Bijapur and Golkonda in the Deccan, who was subdued by Aurangzeb.

J.—PICTURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

J. 1. Picture in water-colours of the Muṣamman or Saman Burj, Delhi Fort, from the river-side, previous to British occupation.

J, 2. Lithograph of the Quwwatu-l-Islām and Iron Pillar at Mihrauli (Old Delhi) from Daniell's "Oriental Scenery" 1793 and 1816. (*Old Catalogue* No. 577).

J, 3. Picture in water-colours of the Delhi Darbār of the 1st January 1877 (from the west). (*Old Catalogue* No. 579.)

J, 4. Picture of the Black Mosque (Kalān Masjid) of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq in Delhi City.

J, 5. Picture in water-colours of the tomb of Tughlaq Shāh at Tughlaqābād, 12 miles south of Delhi City.

J, 6. Old photograph of the Rang Maḥall and Saman Burj, from the river-side.

J, 7. Old photograph of the Saman Burj and Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ, from the river-side.

J, 8. Old photograph of the Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ.

J, 9. Photograph of the Delhi Fort and Salīmgaṛh, from the river-side.

J, 10. Old photograph of the Salīmgaṛh Bridge. (*Cf.* above No. C, 18.)

J, 11. Subject unknown.

J, 12. Photograph of the Dīwān-i-'āmm (with the old railings), Delhi Fort.

J, 13. Photograph of the Naqār Khāna or Naubat Khāna, Delhi Fort, from west. Taken in June 1905.

J, 14. Photograph of the Naqār Khāna or Naubat Khāna, Delhi Fort, from east.

J, 15. Photograph of the Pearl Mosque (Moti Masjid), Delhi Fort.

J, 16. Photograph of the re-constructed elephant statue in Queen's Gardens, Delhi City. (*Cf.* above No. C. 11).

J, 17. Photograph of the Delhi Gate of Delhi City now demolished.

J, 18. Engraving ($12\frac{3}{4}''$ by $19\frac{1}{2}''$) entitled "Storming of Delhi" (apparently Kashmir Gate). Published August 1859; engraved by J. H. Sherratt from the Painting by M. S. Morgan. Original with Publishers, London Printing and Publishing Company.

J, 19. Picture in water-colours ($18\frac{1}{2}''$ by $13''$) by M. Rigby (1878) representing an incident in the taking of Delhi.

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K.—MAPS.

K, 1. Map (4′ square) of Delhi City dating from before the Mutiny, purchased in 1892 by Mr. Clarke, late President of the Municipal Committee, Delhi, for Rs. 100, and preserved in the office of the above Committee till January 1908.

K, 2. Map (1′ 9″ by 1′ 3″) of Delhi City dating from before the Mutiny. It cannot be earlier than the reign of Akbar II (1806-1837), as it contains the name of the *Qadam Sharīf* in the Palace Garden, set up by that king in the beginning of his reign. To the south of the Dīwān-i-āmm a large building is marked as Havelī Mirzā Jahāngīr Bahādur. This was, no doubt, the mansion occupied by Prince Jahāngīr the son of Akbar II, who died in 1832, so that the date of the map lies between A.D. 1807 and 1832. (*Old Catalogue* No. 532; *cf.* above No. C, 28.)

K, 3. Map (2′ 6″ by 2′) of Delhi City, enlarged from No. 2 to 1½ its size.

K, 4. Map of Delhi Fort under Mughal rule. Copied from Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.* It should be noted that this map is inaccurate in many points of importance.

K, 5. Map of Delhi Fort immediately after the Mutiny. It shows the quarters occupied by the last king of Delhi in his captivity. Original in the Subdivisional Officer's office, Military Works Service, Delhi.

K, 6. Map (3′ 4″ by 2′ 3″) of Delhi Fort in the course of demolition of the royal palace. Original in the Subdivisional Officer's office, Military Works Service, Delhi.

K, 7. Map (3′ 4″ by 2′ 3″) of Delhi Fort in its present state. Original in the Subdivisional Officer's office, Military Works Service, Delhi.

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PART II.

A.—INSCRIPTIONS.

I. (Cat. No. B, 1). Arabic Inscription of the reign of Altimish.*

This inscription is incised on a *Miḥrāb* (ht. 10′ 6½″) of red sandstone which is decorated with beautiful carvings, and belongs to the early Paṭhān period. "It was," says General Cunningham, "over the archway of a square tomb which once stood in the Ōkhlā village about six miles to the south of Delhi. It was removed to the Delhi Museum." I failed to find any reference to this tomb in Syed Ahmed's Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd. The fragments of this *Miḥrāb* were lying outside the Municipal Museum, whence they were removed and reconstructed in their present position. It is now in the original form, with the exception of a small piece, which is missing. Two Arabic inscriptions are carved round it, the upper one in capital letters, and the lower in small letters The latter inscription contains some verses from the Qurān, and the former gives the date of the reign of Shamsu-d-dīn Altimish.

Text.

السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم سلطان السلاطین
العادل شمس الدنیا و الدین غیاث الاسلام و المسلمین وارث ملک سلیمان
ابو المظفر ایلتمش السلطان -

Translation.

"The great Sultan, the mighty Emperor, master of the necks of the people, king of the just kings of the world, Shamsu-d-dīn, supporter of Islām and of Musalmāns, successor of the kingdom of Solomon, Abu-e-Muẓaffar Altimish, the Sultan."

II. (Cat. No. B, 2). Arabic Inscription of A.H. 608 (A.D. 1211).†

This inscription is incised on a *Miḥrāb* (ht. 3′ 5″; width 1′ 7″) of red sandstone which belongs to the period of the early Paṭhāns, and to the reign of Altimish, as the year given at the end of the inscription is 608 A.H. 1211 A.D., and his accession took place in 607 A.H. 1210 A.D. This indicates that the mosque to which this inscribed *Miḥrāb* was attached, was built shortly after the accession of the said king. Unfortunately, the last two lines of the inscription are effaced. They contained, most probably, the name of Altimish. Cunningham's assertion that the bottom line contained the name of Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, who preceded Altimish, cannot be maintained in view of the date of the inscription. This *Miḥrāb* must have been fixed in the west wall of some mosque, at the place where the Imām conducts prayer. It is a special characteristic of the architecture of Altimish that such inscribed *Miḥrābs* are found in mosques. The Aṛhāī din kā Jhonpṛā at Ajmir offers a parallel

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* A. S. R., Vol. XX, p. 160.

† A. S. R., Vol. XX, p. 161. (*Old Catalogue* No. 821.)

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example. This *Miḥrāb* is also supposed to have come from Ōkhlā, but in the old catalogue of the Municipal Museum it is said to originate from Old Delhi.

The inscription contains verses from different chapters of the Qurān, and the Kalimah, or Muhammadan Confession of Faith. The first verse after "Bismilla" is taken from the 6th chapter of the Qurān, and the second, which is written round the arch, is from the 3rd chapter.

Text.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي خلق

السموات و الارض و جعل الظلمات و النور ثم الذين كفروا بربهم يعدلون

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملئكة و الو العلم قائما با

لقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم

ان الدين عند الله الاسلام في شهور سنة ثمان و ستمائة

....

....

Translation.

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate."

"Praise be unto God, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkness and the light; nevertheless they who believe not the Lord, equalize other gods with him."*

"There is no God but God, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God."†

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* From the very beginning of the chapter "Anā'm" (cattle).

† Kalimah, or Muḥammadan Confession of Faith.

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"God hath borne witness that there is no God but He; and the angels, and those who are endowed with wisdom profess the same; who executeth righteousness; there is no God but He; the Mighty, the Wise. Verily the true religion in the sight of God is Islām."*

"In the months of the year eight and six hundred."

III (Cat. No. B, 3). Sanskrit Inscription of the reign of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban and of the Vikrama year 1337 (A.D. 1280 or 1281).

The well-known Muhammadan scholar and educationalist, Sir Syed Ahmed, gave first an account of this inscription, with a transcript and Hindūstānī translation, in his work on the antiquities of Delhi. He mentions that it was preserved in the village Bohar, in the Rohtak district, but originally belonged to a well at the village of Pālam, 12 miles south-west of Delhi City. Mr. Thomas also speaks of it in his history of the Pathān sultans of Delhi, and criticizes Syed Ahmed's version. During the Mutiny the inscription was lost sight of. It was recovered at Bohar by Mr. J. G. Delmerick and subsequently edited with an English translation by Rajendra Lal Mitra.† In January 1908 Major A. C. Barton, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak district, presented it to the Delhi Museum of Archæology.

The inscription is cut on a stone slab which measures 1′ 9″ in length and 3′ 10½″ in width and consists of twenty-two lines. Judging from Mitra's facsimile, it appears that the inscription has received some damage since it was published by him in 1874. But there is clear evidence that his facsimile had been "doctored" so that it is impossible to decide how far it represents the actual condition of the epigraph at that time. It is still fairly well preserved; only the upper proper right corner is broken and the first *akshara* of the word *svasti* lost, presumably with the sacred syllable *om*. In the first and last two lines several letters are indistinct. These I have enclosed between square brackets. It is almost entirely composed in Sanskrit poetry and contains thirty stanzas in a great variety of metres. The names of the metres used are the following: *Drutavilambita* (verse 1), *Sragdharā* (verses 2, 6 and 9), *Anushṭubh* (verses 3, 15, 20 and 26), *Āryā* (verses 4, 5, 17, 18, 23, 24 and 28), *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (verses 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 27 and 29), *Vasantatilaka* (verses 13 and 16), *Indravajrā* (verses 19, 21 and 22), *Bhujaṅgaprāyātā* (verses 14 and 30) and *Śālinī* (verse 25). Among the seven Āryā stanzas Nos. 4, 5 and 24 are of the *Gīti* variety whereas No. 28 is a specimen of the *Udgīti* type. Stanza No. 18 consists of three half-verses, the second and third with a short syllable in the 6th foot.

The inscription is composed in the artificial and high-flown language peculiar to the Kāvya style. The poet often chooses his words so as to obtain a repetition of words or syllables,‡ *e.g.*, in the two benedictory stanzas *bhavatāṁ bhavatāpaharo Haro* (vs. 1) and *Śaṅkaraḥ śaṅkarishṇuḥ* (vs. 2) Other instances are: *dūreṇa bhūreṇavaḥ* (lines 5-6), *sapta-samudra-mudrita* (l. 6), *Śesho pi niḥśeshato* (l. 8), *vidrāvya nidrāyate* (l. 9), *pratyaksha-Vishṇur=bhu vanaika-jishṇuḥ* (l. 15), and *dharmmaśālā viśālā* (l. 17). This tendency which we note also in verses 10 and 14 obscures the sense of the poem, as often the

* From the chapter "Āl-i-'Imrāu."

† Syed Ahmed, *Āṣāru-ṣ-ṣanādid*, Cawnpur 1904. Last chapter, pp. 73-81. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, pp. 136-138. Rajendra Lal Mitra, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLIII (1874), Part I, pp. 104-110; with facsimile.

‡ This rhetorical figure is called *yamaka* or *anuprāsa*. In the *yamaka* words, in the *anuprāsa* syllables are repeated.

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adjectives are evidently chosen less for their appropriateness than for their similarity in sound to the preceding noun. In stanzas 17 and 18 we find the rhetorical figure *ślesha* applied, not however—it must be admitted—with great success.

For the rest, the author of the inscription was evidently a good grammarian, which, from the Indian point of view, implies that he was a good poet. We notice only a few mistakes which are probably due to negligence on the part of the engraver. Some peculiarities in the orthography may here be noticed. A consonant combined with *r* is doubled, *e.g.*, *Perujasāhir = bbabhūva* (l. 3), *pūrṇṇe* (l. 4), *pravālair = vvahati* (l. 4), *saṁchūrṇṇyamāna* (l. 6), *Karṇṇāṭā* (l. 7), *tyaktorjjāh* (l. 8), *Gurjjarāḥ* (l. 8), *jaladhir = vvidrāvya* (l. 9), and *dharmmaśālā* (l. 17). We find even *saṁmrāṭ* (l. 6). A final sibilant is sometimes retained, if necessary with assimilation, before an initial sibilant. Thus we find *vikshobhitāś = śatrūn* (l. 5),-*nṛipatis = saṁmrāṭ* (l. 6) and *putras = Sāḍālī* (l. 16). No difference is made between *ba* and *va*. Nasals, if followed by mutes in the body of the word, are expressed by *anusvāra*, *e.g.*, *Śakeṁdraiḥ* (l. 2), *Gaṁgā* (l. 4), *siṁdhu* (l. 4) and *samujjṛiṁbhate* (l. 6). Final *m* is likewise rendered by *anusvāra* even at the end of a half-verse. The doubling of *chha* after *anusvāra* in *saṁchchhādyamāne* (l. 6) is hardly correct. A point of special interest is the occurrence of *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* which are seldom found in Nāgarī inscriptions. *Jihvāmūlīya* we find in *kshoṇi-reṇu-cchaṭābhiḫ = kavalita* (l. 6), *tyaktorjjāḫ = kila* (l. 8), *Lāṭāḫ = Kirāṭā* (l. 8), *nishkelayaḫ = Keralāḥ* (l. 7), *vaḫ = kāṁteva* (l. 8) and *praśastiḫ = kṛita* (l. 20). *Upadhmānīya* is found in the following instances: *Samusadīnaḫ = Perujasāhi*—(l. 3), and *Uttamarājāḫ = putras* (l. 16). Mitra draws attention to the use of ष to express the hard guttural (ق) of Arabic in *Shudabadīna* (l. 2). It is due, as he rightly remarks, to the guttural pronunciation of the cerebral sibilant in North-West India.*

The concluding portion of the inscription, namely. part of line 21 and the whole of line 22, is composed in the vernacular and wri ten not in Nāgarī but in Śāradā. This script was hitherto believed to have been exclusively used in Kaśmīr and the neighbouring districts of the Panjāb Hills. But its occurrence in the Pālam inscription leaves no doubt that it was once known in the Plains also. It would seem that it was the popular script of the Panjāb, whereas the Nāgarī alphabet was in use among the learned. This would explain why we find the Sanskrit portion of the Pālam inscription written in Nāgarī and the vernacular passage at the end in Śāradā. Anyhow, the use of Śāradā in the Delhi District shows that the script was known over a much larger area than was hitherto supposed. It is very probable that Gurmukhī and other modern alphabets of the Panjāb are derived from the ancient Śāradā.

As to the language of the concluding passage, Mitra declared it to be "Rājpūtānā Hindi" without, however, adducing any proof for this assertion. Apparently he failed to observe that the character in which it is written is not Nāgarī. The lingual *ṇ* of the Śāradā he took for a mark indicating a lacuna! Dr. G. Grierson has kindly favoured me with his opinion on the subject. He believes that the dialect used in the inscription is allied to the Bāgṛī now spoken in Ḥiṣṣār and the neighbourhood, in other words in the tract now known as Hariyānā. The use of *hu* (= is) is typical of this dialect. A point of interest is the occurrence of the name Ḍhilī (Delhi) in its vernacular form. In the Sanskrit it is called Ḍhillī. In the same way we find in

* In Gurmukhī the aspirated hard guttural is denoted by the ancient sign for *sha*, *i.e.*, ष without the top stroke.

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the vernacular the personal name Uḍhar, for which the Sanskrit has Uḍḍhara. It will be seen that the first half of this passage consists of two rhyming stanzas.

The Pālam inscription opens with the usual invocations (in prose) of Gaṇeśa and S'iva and with two benedictory stanzas in which the blessing of S'iva is implored. The next three verses give an outline of the early history of Hariyāna—the country round Delhi—ruled first by the Tunvar or Tūar Rājpūts, then by the Chauhāṇ Rājpūts and at the time of the inscription governed by S'aka,* *i.e.*, Muhammadan princes. The poet then enumerates the eight sultans of the Slave dynasty who first ruled at Delhi after the Moslim conquest. It is curious that, instead of Sulṭāna Raziyya Begam we find the name Jalāladina, *i.e.*, Jālālu-d-dīn. The names are all given in Sanskritized form.

Verses 6-11 are devoted to a high-flown eulogy of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban who ruled at the time when the inscription was engraved. The title "Hammīra" is the Sanskritized form of Arabic *Amīr*.† The poet extolls the greatness of the Mlechchha king in no less flattering terms than are used in the panegyrics of the Hindū period. He mentions that, since Balban rules the world, Vishṇu has forsaken his task and has gone asleep in the Ocean.‡ The praise bestowed on the king in the second part of verse 7 seems somewhat doubtful to modern conceptions.

After a laudatory stanza (12) in honour of the city of Ḍhillī (Delhi)—also known as "the Fairy town" (Yoginīpura)—it is related that in that place there lived a *purapati* of the name of Uḍḍhara. What exactly is meant by *purapati* I do not know. Further on he is called "Thākur" (Sanskrit *Ṭhakkura*) which implies that he held the position of a Rājpūt landholder or that his father had held that position. The latter had settled at Delhi from Uchchāpura—the modern Uch in Bahāwalpur State—situated not far from the confluence of the Jehlam, the Biās, the Satluj and the Chīnāb. From the wording of the inscription it would seem that Uchchāpura was situated on the bank of the Indus; but this is hardly correct.

In verses 17 and 18 the paternal and maternal pedigrees of Uḍḍhara are described for respectively four and nine generations. For further particulars the reader is referred to the genealogical list (Skr. *Vaṁśāvali*) in which a full account of both pedigrees is given (v. 19). Next we learn the names of Uḍḍhara's three wives, seven sons and three daughters (vv. 20-24).

It is then related how the virtuous Ṭhākur "in order to dispel the weariness of weary wayfarers" had a well made to the east of the village of Pālamba and to the west of Kusumbhapura (vv. 25-26). In the following two stanzas (27-28) this well is duly praised, and in verse 29 the wish is expressed that its founder with his family and friends may enjoy wordly bliss "in all conditions in which enjoyment is possible." The concluding verse

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* The term *S'aka* was originally the Indian designation of the Sze tribe called Sakoi by the Greeks. In after-times it was used to indicate any foreign invaders; in the present case the Muhammadan conquerors. In the same way the word "Yavana" originally "Ionian, *i.e.*, Greek," is now used by Paṇḍits to designate Muhammadans!

† It is often found in Sanskrit inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī it denotes in particular Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. In later times it is also used as a personal name among Hindū rulers. One of the later Kaṭōch rajas of Kāṅgṛā was called Hamīr Chand. His name is preserved in that of the town Hamīrpur.

‡ It should, however, be remembered that, independent from Balban's influence, this sleep of Vishṇu, the sun-god, is supposed to take place every year during the rains. The fact that the inscription was engraved in the first month of the rainy season may have suggested to the poet the idea expressed in verse 12.

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पं० इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति प्रदत्त संग्रह

contains the name of the poet of the eulogy—Yogīśvara—who well deserved the title of "Paṇḍit" affixed to his name. After this comes the date in prose, numbered 31.

The vernacular portion at the end, as far as it is intelligible, is merely a *résumé* of the Sanskrit eulogy. It was obviously added for the sake of those unacquainted with "the cultured language."

It is a point of considerable interest in this and the following three inscriptions, that Delhi is said to be situated in the country of Hariyāna. This name now-a-days denotes the country round Ḥiṣṣār. It is perhaps best known in connection with George Thomas, the Irish sailor, who ruled here as an independent chief in the second half of the 18th century. In his Memoirs* "Hurrianah" is said to be situated 90 miles to the north-west of Delhi. "It extends," he says, "80 coss from north to south, and the same distance from east to west. To the northward it is bounded by the possessions of Sahib Singh, Chief of *Puttialah*, on the north-west by the *Batties*, west by the dominions of *Beykaneer*, and south by *Jypore*, south-east by the pergunnah of *Dadaree*, east by the districts adjoining to Delhi, and north-east by the cities of *Rhotick* and *Panniput*."

It is evident from the four Sanskrit inscriptions in the Delhi Museum that in the 13th and 14th centuries of our era Hariyāna included the country round Delhi, but it does not appear, how far its boundaries extended and whether it included the tract now known by that name. In any case, it is a curious instance of the shifting of a geographical appellation.

The name of the capital is called Ḍhillī (l. 9), whereas, in the following inscriptions, it is spelled Ḍhillikā, which is the Sanskritized form of a vernacular "Ḍhillī." In the *bhāshā* portion of the Pālam inscription (l. 22) we find "Ḍhilī." This is the earliest mention of the place in an epigraphical document. Under Muhammadan rule the name became changed into Dillī or Dihlī. The former is the spelling current in Nāgarī, the latter that in Persian writing. Bernier writes "Dehli" and Tavernier "Dehly." The spelling now used by Europeans is "Delhi."†

The village of Pālam is mentioned twice in the inscription, first in its Sanskrit form Pālamba (l. 17), and subsequently in the vernacular form Pālam (l. 21). It is said to be situated at a distance of 5 *kos* from Ḍhilī, not of course the modern Delhi, but Old Delhi, the City of Rai Pithora's Fort and the Quṭb. The village lies 12 miles south-west of modern Delhi (or S͟hāh-Jahānābād) and is the second station from Delhi on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It is best known from the popular saying *S͟hāh 'Ālam az Dihlī ta Pālam* "S͟hāh 'Ālam, king of the world—from Delhi to Pālam." This adage ridiculed the contrast between the high-sounding titles of the later Mug͟hal kings of Delhi and their limited power which did not extend beyond a few miles outside their capital. I may add that the name Pālam also occurs as the appellation of a tea-growing tract in the Kāṅgṛā District, with the chief town Pālampur. It probably derives its name from a village Pralamba mentioned in one of the Baijnāth eulogies (II, 31).‡ It would, therefore, seem that the

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* *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, edited by Captain W. Franklin, Calcutta, 1803, pp. 87.

† On popular etymologies of the name Ḍhilī see Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Delhi*, p. 11. The spelling "Delhi" has been authorized by Punjab Government Notification 1942, 1st December 1874. I do not know what ground there exists for the spelling Ḍihli, adopted by Bühler in his *Kaśmir Report*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XII, Extra Number, passim.

‡ *Cf.* Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 114 and 118.

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two names are of a different origin, if, at least, we may trust the Sanskrit forms found in the inscriptions.

I cannot identify the village of Kusumbhapura ("Safflower-town") mentioned together with Pālam in our inscription. Evidently it was situated to the east of the latter village. Nor do I know, whether the well which Thākur Udhar caused to be built between those two places, and which is so emphatically praised by the poet, still survives.

The excessive praise bestowed on Balban in stanzas 6-12, reminds of the following anecdote related by Bernier about his Aga (patron) the learned Dānishmand Khān.

"Un pendet Brahmen ou Docteur Gentil que j'avois fait mettre au service de mon Agah, se voulut mêler en entrant de faire son Panegyrique, & aprés l'avoir comparé aux plus grands Conquerans qui furent jamais, & luy avoir dit cent grossieres & impertinentes flateries, concluait enfin serieusement par celle-cy : Lors que vous mettez le pied dans l'Estrier, Seigneur, & que vous marchez a cheval avec votre Cavalerie, la Terre tremble sous vos pas, les huit Elefans qui la suportent sur leurs têtes ne pouvans soutenir ce grand effort. Je ne pûs me tenir de rire là dessus, & je tâchay de dire serieusement à mon Agah qui ne pouvoit aussi s'en tenir ; qu'il seroit donc fort à propos qu'il ne montât à cheval que fort rarement pour empêcher les tremblemens de terre qui causent souvent de si grands malheurs. Aussi est-ce pour cela même, me répondit-il sans hesiter, que je me fais ordinairement porter en Paleky."*

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1337, the 13th of the dark fortnight of S'rāvaṇa. This date, according to Professor Kielhorn,† corresponds either to 26th June A.D. 1280 or to 13th August 1281. Both these dates fell on Wednesday the weekday mentioned in the inscription.

Text.

[L. 1] [ओं स्व]स्ति ॥ गणपतये नमः ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥
सृजति रक्षति संहरतीह यस्तिरयति प्रतिबोधयति प्रजाः ।
स भवतां भवतापहरो हरो भवतु भावकचिंतितदायकः ॥ १ ॥
[साम्राज्यस्याभि]षेकश्रियममरधुनी यस्य मूर्ध्नि [प्रयाता
कुर्वन्ती या] तरंगैरविरतनिचलच्चा-

[L. 2] मरत्वं प्रयाति ।
शुभ्रांशोरंशुमालावलयमतिसितच्छत्रचक्रायमाणां
मानातीतप्रभावो भवतु स भवतां शंकरः शंकरिष्णुः ॥ २ ॥
अभोजि तोमरैरादौ चौहाणै ‡ स्तदनंतरं ।
हरियानकभूरेषा शकेंद्रैः शास्यते धुना । ३
आदौ साहबदीनस्ततः परं षुटुबदीनभूपालः ॥

* *Voyages*, Tome II, p. 46., *cf.* beneath No. V, vs. 5, where the poet actually speaks of Muḥammad Tughlaq as "the mighty S'aka lord, through fear of whom the earth trembles."

† *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 186, No. 147.

‡ It is noteworthy that here the name *Chauhān* is given in its actual form, whereas in other inscriptions we find the Sanskritized form *Chāhamāna* (*cf.* Nos. IV, l. 2, and VI, l. 4).

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[L. 3] जातो थ समुस * दीन × पेरुजसाहिर्ब्बभूव भूमिपतिः ॥ ४ ॥
पश्चाज्जलालदीनस्तदनंतरमजनि मौजदीनन्टपः।
श्रीमानलावदीनो न्टपतिवरो नसरदीनपृथ्वींद्रः ॥ ५ ॥
आगौडाद्गुज्जणांतं द्रविडजनपदात्सेतुबंधात्समंता
दंतस्सं-

[L. 4] तोषपूर्स्से सकलजनपदे प्राज्यसौराज्यराज्ये।
यत्सेवायातयातक्षितिपतिमुकुटोद्घट्टनभ्रश्यरत्न-
ज्वालाजालप्रवालैर्व्वहति वसुमती वन्यवासंतलीलां ॥ ६ ॥
गंगासागरसंगमं प्रतिदिनं प्राच्यां प्रतीच्यामपि
स्नातुं सिंधुसमु-

[L. 5] द्रसंगममहो यत्सैन्यमाधावति।
हेलांदोलितपाणिकंकण झणत्कारेण † वारांगना यांत्यायांति च
निर्भया यदुदयाच्चित्रांबराडंबराः ॥ ७ ॥
यत्सेनाग्रसरत्तुरंगमखुरप्रक्षेपविक्षोभिताष्णुत्तूनत्र निवारयंति
पुरतो दू-

[L. 6] रेण भूरेणवः।
सो यं सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीहारावलीनायकः श्रीहम्मीर-
गयासदीनन्टपतिस्सम्म्राट् समुज्जृंभते ॥ ८ ॥
यद्वाटीवेगधावत्तुरग ‡ खुरपुटापातसंचूर्स्यमान-
क्षोणीरेणुच्छटाभि × कवलितककुभि व्योम्नि संच्छाद्यमाने।
आदि-

[L. 7] त्यस्य प्रताप स्थरतर § विसरद्दीप्तिभिस्साकमस्तं
याति प्रायेण राजप्रभृतिषु गणना का च रात्रौ दिवा वा ॥ ९ ॥
यस्मिन् दिग्विजयप्रयाणकपरे गौडा निराडंबरा
अंध्रा रंध्रपरायणा भयवशान्निष्कीलय × केरलाः।
कर्सा[टा*]‖ अपि कंदराश्रयपरा भ्रष्टा महा-

[L. 8] राष्ट्रजा
स्त्यक्तोर्ज्जा × किल गूर्ज्जराः समभवन् लाटा × किराटा इव ॥ १० ॥
अस्मिन् राजनि बिभ्रति क्षितितलं शेषो पि निःशेषतो
भूभारं समपास्य वैष्णवमहाशय्यापदं संश्रितः।

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* The akshara स is written above the line.

† Mitra reads रणत्कारेण

‡ Perhaps we should read यद्वातावेगधावत्तुरग॰ *Cf.* अर्धमार्गे च वाताश्ववेगवञ्चितसैनिकः *Kathās.* 11, 8, 89.

§ I read with Mitra: प्रताप: स्थिरतर. The *visarga* and *i* stroke shown in his facsimile are not in the original.

‖ The *akshara* टा shown in Mitra's facsimile is absent in the original.

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लक्ष्मीं वक्षसि सोपि विष्णुरधुना प्रक्षिप्य रक्षाविधौ
चिंतासंतति-

[L. 9] मात्तदुग्धजलधिर्व्विद्राय्य निद्रायते ॥ ११ ॥

अस्यानेकमहापुरीशतपते राज्ञो मनोहारिणी
ढिल्ली नाम महापुरी विजयते भल्लीव विद्वेषिणां ।
या पृथ्वीव विचित्ररत्ननिलया या द्यौरिवानंदिनी
या पातालपुरीव दैत्यनिलया मायेव

[L. 10] या मोहिनी ॥ १२ ॥

श्रीयोगिनीपुरमिति प्रथिताभिधाने ढिल्लीपुरे पुरपतिस्सुकृती बभूव ।
श्रीमानशेषगुणराशिरपेतदोषो धीमानुदात्तमतिरुड्ढरनामधेयः ॥ १३ ॥
वितस्ताविपाशाशतद्रूभिराभिर्म्मिलित्वामला

[L. 11] चंद्रभागा विभागा ।

पुरस्तादुद * स्तैस्तरंगैरभंगै[ः *]स्थिता यत्र सिंधुः सुबंधुस्सबंधुः ॥ १४ ॥
सुधा मधु सुधा सीधु सुधा दिवि सुधारसः ।
येन सिंधुसुधा पीता तस्य ज्ञानसुधाप्यधः ॥ १५ ॥
तत्सिंधुदिव्यसुधया परिधौत-

[L. 12] भूमिभारस्थले सकलतापहरे पवित्रे ।

उच्चैरुदंचति हसंत्यमरावतीमप्युच्चापुरी सुरधुनीतटवासिनीं सा ॥ १६ ॥
तस्यामस्य पिताभूद्धरिपालस्तत्पिता यशोराजः ।
दुल्लहरस्तज्जनकः किपुरस्य पितेति पि-

[L. 13] तृवंश ॥ १७ ॥

उड्ढरमाता चंडी पृथुपुत्री पृथुपिता हरिश्चंद्रः ।
उत्साहणो स्य जनकः सहदेवसुतस्स तोलसुतः ॥ †
तोलपिता व्याघ्रहरस्सिंहसुतो गौरपौत्र इति ॥ १८ ॥
वंशावलीतिप्रथिते प्रबंधे वंशद-

[L. 14] यं पूर्व्वमभाणि संम्यक् ‡ ।

अत्रापि तस्य स्मृतये प्रशस्तौ नामानि कामं प्रतिपादितानि ॥ १९ ॥
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिरूपास्तिस्रो स्य योषितः ।
राजश्रिया रत्नदेव्या जाजला ज्येष्ठगेहिनी ॥ २० ॥
तस्यास्च पुत्रो

[L. 15] हरिराजनामा कायेन वाचा मनसा पवित्रः ।

ख्यातश्चतुष्षष्टिकलानिधानं प्रत्यक्षविष्णुर्भुवनैकजिष्णुः ॥ २१ ॥

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* The *akshara* द is written beneath the line.

† Stanza 18, as remarked above, consists of three-half verses. At the end of the second-half verse there is an indistinct mark.

‡ Read सम्यक् ।

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अस्यानुजौ च स्थिरराजजैत्रसंज्ञौ समं वीरडया विभातः ।
सखापरस्या अपि मध्यमायाः पुत्री

[L. 16] पुराभूद्धनवत्युदारा ॥ २२ ॥

गुणराजभूपती अपि पुत्रौ द्वौ तदनु रत्नदेव्याश्च ।
हरदेवो नाथ इति ख्यातः पुत्रो पि कन्यान्या ॥ २३ ॥
उत्तमराज ?(८) पुत्रस्खाडाली पुत्रिकेत्यपत्ये च ।
मूललताशाखाफलकुदुंबकं * कल्पविट-

[L. 17] पिनो स्येत्यं ॥ २४ ॥

स्थाने स्थाने धर्म्मशाला विशाला का कानेनाकारि सत्रादिकर्त्रा ।
किंत्वत्रापि श्रांतपांथश्रमार्तिच्छेत्रा वेत्रा वापिका काप्यकारि ॥ २५ ॥
पालंबग्रामपूर्व्वे च कुसुंभपुरपश्चिमे ।
कृतात्र कृतिना वापी तृष्णा-

[L. 18] मोहापहारिणी ॥ २६ ॥

पीनोत्तुंगपयोधरा परिलुठद्धारावलीविभ्रमा तृष्णाभ्राम्यदनेककामु[क*] † -
जनक्लेशप्रशांतिप्रदा ।
फुल्लन्मौलितकप्रसूनपटलश्रेणिःश्रियामोदिना वापी कापि महामुदं
दिशतु व× कांतेव कांता-

[L. 19] दृशां ॥ २७ ॥

मानसमपि हसति सतां निजप्रसादेन कलुषमिति चित्तुषा(?)[।*]
निजविश्रांत ‡ वि[धा]त्री विद्येवाध्यात्मवेदिनां भाति ॥ २८ ॥
अस्तु स्वस्ति समस्तवस्तुविषयाभोगोपभोग्यात्मभिर्भावैः पुत्र-
कलत्रमित्रजनतायुक्ताय युक्ता-

[L. 20] त्मने ।

भक्तायोड्ढरठक्कुराय महते स्वर्गापवर्गोदयानंदायेंदुकलावतंस-
चरणद्वंद्वैक[निष्ठात्मने] ॥ २९ ॥
अखंडप्रकाशेन योगीश्वरेण प्रशस्ति× कृता पंडितेन प्रशस्ता ।
समस्ताशिषामेकपात्रस्य वापीनिमित्तं सुविस्तारवत्युड्ढरस्य ॥ ३० ॥

[L. 21] संवत्सरेस्मिन्वैक्रमादित्ये संवत् १३३७ श्रावणबदि १३ बुधे ॥ ३१ ॥ (Vernacular)
किआशन्दीण सुरिताण रजि हरीआणा इ देश ह ॥ पंच कोश ढिली अहु § पंथि पालंम
पवेश ह ॥ जेठ माशि अठ(?) - हि शे अस्ठ(?)

* In Mitra's facsimile this word reads कुसुमकं, but this does not suit the metre. Besides, the inscription has distinctly कुटुंबकं. Perhaps we should restore it to कुटुंबकं.

† In Mitra's facsimile a क is shown over the line; it is not to be found in the original.

‡ Read: विश्रांति ।

§ अहु is the suffix of the ablative case. ढिली अहु । "from Delhi."

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[L. 22] - ह ग्ननिवार ह। पजिवज भाइ ग्रंभति किञ्च उ कितयु ग्रंग्रार ह। ग्निक इ कुलेग्नि हरिपाल घरि। ठकुर उढर धंम जउ। जल हेउ [ब्रच] शुदि दुग्रंघ (?) ग्रंध विउ ॥ वा इ गकुग्रो ञ्रंन मउः ॥ लि०— — — —

Translation.

Hail! Adoration to Gaṇapati! Adoration to S'iva! May he who creates, preserves and destroys, who obscures and eradiates mankind; may Hara (S'iva) who removes [the sorrows of] existence, prove the fulfiller of your thoughts and imaginings.

2. He,* upon whose head the celestial river (Gaṅgā) flows, anointing him with the glory of universal sovereignty, and with its waves serves as an ever-waving *chaurī*—whilst the circle of the moon's rays forms a canopy like unto a radiant umbrella—may that S'aṅkara of infinite majesty confer happiness upon you.

3. This land of Hariyāna was first ruled by the Tomaras (Tunvars), then by the Chauhāṇas; now it is governed by S'aka (Moslim) princes.

4. In the beginning Sāhabadīna (S͟hahābu-d-dīn) became king, after him Khudubadīna (Quṭbu-d-dīn) the guardian of the earth, [then] was Samusadīna (S͟hamsu-d-dīn) [and then] Perujasāhi (Firōz S͟hāh), the lord of the land.

5. Hereafter [came] Jalāladīna (Jalālu-d-dīn), then was born Prince Maujadīna (Mu'izzu-d-dīn), [then] the illustrious Alāvadīna (Alāu-d-dīn) the excellent king, [and then] Nasaradīna (Nāṣiru-d-dīn), the lord of the earth.

6. He, throughout whose whole contented realm under his great and good government from Gauḍa (Gauṛ, *i.e.*, Bengal) to Gajjaṇa (G͟haznī in Afg͟hānistān), from the Draviḍa country and Setubandha,† everywhere, the earth bears the beauty of the sylvan spring-tide through the shooting gleams of the many jewels fallen from the contact of the diadems of princes coming and going in his service,

7.‡ He, whose army hastens for its daily bath to the confluence of the Ganges and the ocean in the east and lo! in the west to the confluence of the Indus and the sea, through whose ascendancy the courtesans, glorying in their brilliant raiment, come and go without fear, their bracelets tinkling on their sportively swinging arms,

8. He, whose enemies are turned back from afar by the dust of the earth raised by the trampling of the hoofs of his swift horse galloping in front of his army, he, the central jewel in the necklace of the earth girdled with its seven seas, the illustrious prince Hamīra-Gayāsadīna (Amīr G͟hiyāṣu-d-dīn) reigns as supreme king.

9. When the sky is veiled, while its regions are swallowed by thick clouds of dust from the earth, pounded by the hoofs of his horses sweeping the highway,§ the splendour of the sun with its steadily shining radiance sets, but among kings what does it matter whether it is night or day.

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* The river Ganges, when descending from heaven, fell first on the head of S'iva. He is also represented crowned with the crescent of the moon.

† Setubandha (literally "Bridge-building") is the spot where Rāma, with the aid of his monkey allies, built a bridge or dam to connect the Indian Continent and Ceylon.

‡ From verse 7 the numbering of Mitra's translation is wrong, as he has split up this verse in two verses, 7 and 8.

§ Or "swift like the wind" if we read यद्वातावेगधावत्त० ।

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10. When he sets out on the conquest of the world, the Gauḍas (Bengalis) forsake their boasting, the Andhras take to their caves out of fear, the Keralas forsake their sports, the Karṇāṭas also take refuge in their glens, the Mahārāshṭras (Mahrāṭhās) vanish, the Gūrjaras (Gujars) lose their strength, and the Lāṭas become like Kirāṭas.

11. Since this king supports the world, S'esha has wholly laid down the burden of the earth and betaken himself to the great bed of Vishṇu (the Ocean); and Vishṇu himself, clasping Lakshmi at his breast and dispelling all continuous thought of guarding the world, slumbers now on the ocean of milk.

12. Under this king and lord of many a hundred of great towns, prospers the heart-ravishing great town of the name of Ḍhillī—a deadly arrow to his foes. Like the earth, she is a receptacle of sundry jewels; like heaven, full of joy; like the town of the lower world, an abode of Demons (*alias* Muhammadans) and like illusion, full of fascination.

13. In the town of Ḍhillī, renowned under the name of Yoginīpura (Fairy-town) there lived a righteous and wealthy citizen (?) of the name of Uḍḍhara possessed of every virtue, devoid of vice, wise and high-minded.

14. Where the pure and plentiful Chandrabhāgā (Chīnāb)—[flowing] with high and unbroken waves—is joined by the Vitastā (Jehlam), the Vipāśā (Biās), and the S'atadrū (Satluj), [there] is its friend the friendly Sindhu (Indus).

15. It is vain to speak of honey, or wine, or of juice of heavenly nectar; who has drunk the nectar of the Indus, he counts the nectar of knowledge less.

16. In the land washed by the heavenly nectar of that Indus, and on the lofty river-bank pure and pain-dispelling, there rises high [the town of] Uchchāpurī (Uch) mocking Amarāvatī [the city of the gods] which lies on the shores of the celestial stream.

17. In that town lived his (Uḍḍhara's) father Haripāla; his (Haripāla's) father was Yaśorāja; Dullahara was his (Yaśorāja's) father and Kipu was his (Dullahara's) father. Thus is his paternal pedigree.

18. Uḍḍhara's mother was Chaṇḍī Pṛithu's daughter; the father of Pṛithu was Hariśchandra. His (Hariśchandra's) father was Utsāhaṇa the son of Sahadeva, and he (Sahadeva) was the son of Tola. The father of Tola was Vyāghrahara the son of Siṁha and grandson of Gaura.

19. In the work known as "the Geneaology" (Vaṁśāvalī) both pedigrees have already been fully described; here in this Eulogy (Praśasti) the names have only been repeated to call them to memory.

20. He had three wives who were the embodiments of the divine powers: Will, Wisdom and Action—Jājalā the eldest spouse with Rājaśrī and Ratnadevī.

21. Her (Jājalā's) son was Harirāja by name, pure of body, speech and thought, famous, a receptacle of the sixty-four arts, a Vishṇu manifested and sole conqueror of the world.

22. And his two younger brothers, Sthirarāja and Jaitra by name, appear together with their sister Vīraḍā. The second wife (Rājaśrī) had first an excellent daughter Dhanavatī,

23. And afterwards two sons Guṇarāja and Bhūpati. Ratnadevī had a son Haradeva, known as Nātha, and a daughter,

24. [Another] son Uttamarāja and a daughter Sāḍāli. Such are the root, stem, branches, fruits and flowers (?) of this wonder-tree, *viz.* (Uḍḍhara).

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25. At different places several extensive rest-houses have been made by this maker of alms-houses (*satra*), and on this spot also that wise man caused a well to be made in order to dispel the weariness of weary wayfarers.

26. Here to the east of the village of Pālamba (Pālam) and to the west of Kusumbhapura that wise man made a well which removes thirst and faintness.

27. May this well with its abundant drinking water (*alias* with its firm and high breasts), with the motion of its rolling waves (*alias* with the grace of its undulating garlands), while allaying the pain of many a thirsty wanderer (?) (*alias* love-sick lover), [this well] covered with flowers of blooming-crested trees and blessed with beauty, grant great joy to you, like the beloved to her adorers (?).*

28. It (this well) mocks even the Mānasa lake (*alias* the mind) of the wise by its own purity and reckons it dirt. It appears like the peace-procuring wisdom of the knowers of the supreme soul.

29. May the great Ṭhākur, the devout and self-restrained Uḍḍhara, together with his sons, wives, friends and dependents enjoy welfare in all conditions in which enjoyment is possible within the sphere of all worldly matters —he, who delights in the joy of heaven and final delivery, and has his mind fixed on the feet of the Crescent-crowned (S'iva).

30. This auspicious extensive eulogy was made by Paṇḍit Yogīśvara of unscathed fame, on the well of Uḍḍhara, that vessel of all benedictions.

In this year of Vikramāditya, in the year 1337, the month of S'rāvaṇa, the 13th day of the dark fortnight, on Wednesday. (*Vernacular*) In the kingdom of Sulṭān G͟hiyāṣu-d-din is the country of Hariyāna. Five *kos* from Ḍhill, Pālam comes in the way. In the month of Jeṭh.................... on Saturday.............†

IV (Cat. No. B, 4). Sanskrit Inscription of the reign of Jalālu-d-dīn K͟hiljī and the Vikrama year 1347 (A.D. 1291).

Regarding the provenance of this inscription no certain information is forthcoming. It was in the Delhi Museum in 1888 when the old catalogue was printed. Most probably it was found somewhere in the Delhi District. When visiting Sonepat on the 31st January 1903, I learnt from the *mutawali* (manager) of the shrine of Imām Nasiru-d-dīn that he had sent an inscribed slab of *sang-i-khari*, measuring about two by one foot, from that place to Mr. J. G. Delmerick ‡ who placed it in the Delhi Museum. This is possibly the inscription in question.

The inscription is incised on a stone slab measuring 1′ 3″ by $10\frac{3}{8}$″ and consists of seventeen lines of writing. Unfortunately the central portion of the inscription is completely obliterated, apparently owing to the slab having been used for sharpening tools. The letters in the preserved portion, though

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* The word *pīna*, if applied to the well, has probably to be taken as past participle of *pī*, but I do not know what double meaning to assign to the word *uttuṅga*.

† The remaining portion, which I must leave untranslated, contains the name of Ṭhākur Uḍhar and his father Haripāl.

‡ *Cf.* my *Annual Progress Report* for 1902-03, p. 5, § 13. The custodian of the Municipal Museum told me that No. B, 6 had come from Sonepat, but as that inscription undoubtedly originates from Sārbān near Delhi, it is probable that his information really referred to the present number.

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shallow, are well-formed; they measure about ⅜″ in height. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit poetry with the exception of the word *svasti* in the beginning, and the concluding portion. It consists of sixteen stanzas, apparently all in the *anushṭubh* (*śloka*) metre.

Owing to the fragmentary state of the inscription, it is impossible to give a continuous transcript and translation. The following, however, is a résumé of its contents. It begins with an invocation of Vināyaka, *i.e.*, Gaṇeśa (verse 1). It then mentions Ḍhillī, *i.e.*, Delhi, situated in the country of Hariyāna and ruled first by the Tunvars (Skr. Tomara) and subsequently by the Chauhāṇs (Skr. Chāhamāna). It was then conquered by the Muhammadans and governed by them ever since. Jalālu-d-din (K͟hilji) was king at the time when the inscription was engraved. (Verses 2-4).

The next ten verses (5-14) are for the greater part destroyed. They describe the genealogy (*vaṁśāvalī*) of the individual by whose order the inscription was made. His name is lost, but it appears from verse 6 that he belonged to the Rohītaka family.*

Verse 15 reads: संचिंत्य संसारासारतां सुधी। [प्रस्था]भिधे सुवर्ण[दि]-ग्रामे कूपमकारयत् ॥ "That wise man, meditating on the worthlessness of worldly existence, caused a well to be made at the village of the name of Prastha with [the word] Suvarṇa prefixed." This reading, if correct, would prove that the inscription originates indeed from Sōnepat, as it contains the name of that place in Sanskrit form, namely, Suvarṇa-prastha (literally "Gold-plain"). †

Verse 16 contains the name of the author of the eulogy: the Brahmin Uttama, the son of Harichandra, and the date expressed in words which are partly lost. Then follows the date in figures: the Vikrama year 1347, Phālguna, śu. di. 5, Monday. This date, according to information received from Professor Kielhorn, corresponds to the 5th February 1291.

V (Cat. No. B, 5). Sanskrit Inscription of the reign of Muḥammad Tug͟hlaq and of the Vikrama year 1384 (A.D. 1327).

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. J. G. Delmerick who found it in the Delhi Museum, where it had been kept for several years. He had a transcript of it made by Pandit Vishveshvar Nath who at the same time transcribed the Sārabala well inscription (No. VI, Cat. No. B, 6) to be discussed subsequently. Both transcripts were published with English translations by Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May 1873.‡

The inscription records the foundation of a well by a Brahmin of the name of S'rīdhara at the village of Nāḍāyana, the modern Naraina, near Delhi. The stone on which the inscription is engraved measures 18″ in width by 13″ in height. The height of the letters is about ⅜″. The surface of the stone is much disintegrated, and several of the letters are partially or wholly destroyed. The upper proper right corner is broken, by which the beginning portion of the first four lines is completely lost. The inscription consists of twenty-one lines, of which the last one, which contains the date, covers only

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* *Cf.* beneath inscr. V. (Cat. No. B, 5), verse 6.

† The word *prastha* occurs also in Indraprastha, the modern Indrapat. *Cf.* beneath p. 37.

‡ *Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal for May* 1873, pp. 104-107. It will be noted that Mr. Delmerick evidently confused the two inscriptions; for he describes the Naraina stone as being in very good preservation and that of Sarban as "very much abraded and cut up."

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about half the width of the stone. It is, with the exception of the date, composed in Sanskrit poetry. The author was evidently well versed both in the grammar and rhetorics of that language.

In his poem a great variety of metres is used, obviously chosen in connection with its contents. The first two stanzas in which Gaṇeśa and the demon-slaying goddess Chaṇḍikā (another name for Durgā) are invoked, are in the *Prithvī* metre. In the next three stanzas (3-5) the praise is sung of the district Hariyāna, the city of Ḍhillī (Delhi) and its overlord Muḥammad Tughlaq. The metres used are *Anushṭubh*, *Vasantatilaka* and *S'ārdūlavikrīḍita*. Verses 6-14 are a eulogy on S'rīdhara, the founder of the well and his ancestors. Here the metre is alternately *Indravajrā* (vv. 6, 8, 10, 13 and 14) and *Anushṭubh* (vv. 7, 9, 11 and 12). I may note in passing that the name S'rīdhara also occurs as that of the maternal grandfather of the two founders of the Sārabala well.

The concluding two stanzas (vv. 15-16) record the foundation of the well which S'rīdhara had dug on the north side of the village of Nāḍāyana, and describe the praise bestowed by travellers on the excellence of its water.

The inscription ends with the date: Vikrama 1384, Bhādrapada ba. di. 3, Thursday, corresponding with the 6th August A.D. 1327. Muḥammad Tughlaq, the ruler of the time, reigned from Rabiu-l-awwal A.H. 725 (Febr. 1325) till 21st Muharram A.H. 752 (Jan. 1351).

In re-editing it, I have, with some slight modifications, adopted Pandit Vishveshvar Nath's transcript and Mitra's translation. It has, however, appeared advisable to enclose between square brackets any restored portions which, in the original, are indistinct or obliterated. The 17th stanza of the Pandit's transcript I have omitted, as it is entirely hypothetical. On the stone no trace exists of a 17th stanza. In the translation, the words rendering the restored portions have been printed in italics.

Text.

[L. 1] [ओं स्वस्ति ॥]

[स्मृतः प्रणतदेहिनां] निखिलविघ्न [विध्वंसकृ]न्नमज्जनसमीहितं वितरतीह यः पूजितः।

[स धार-

[L. 2] यति विघ्नपो रदनमे]कमत्युन्नतं प्रभेत्तुमिव नाकिनां स्फटिकदं[ड]मुग्रं द्विषः ॥ १

सुरेंद्ररिपुमर्दनी महिषघा-

[L. 3] [टिका]संस्थिता हरीष्टकमलोद्भवैरखिलसिद्धिहेतोः स्तुता।

भवेत्स्वकुलदेवता भवदघौघविच्छित्तये द्रु-

[L. 4] [तं ज]नफलप्रदा भुवनधारिणी चंडिका ॥ २

हरितानक * संज्ञो स्ति देशः पुण्यतमो महान्।

कृष्णः सपा-

[L. 5] [र्थो] व्यचरद्यत्र पापौघशांतये ॥ ३

तस्मिन्नियं निखिलरत्नचयोपगूढा वेदस्वनैः श्रुतिविदां हृतपापपुं-

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* Read हरियानक॰ ।

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[L. 6] [जा ।]
ढिल्ली * पुरी सुरनदीव विभाति रम्या रम्यांगनाचरणनूपुर[हंस]शब्दैः॥ ४
तत्रासीन्महमूदसाहिर-
[L. 7] खिलक्षोणीशचूडामणिर्विख्यातो निजबाहुवीर्यदलितारातिः शकेंद्रो बली।
त्रासाद्भूश्चलतीह य-
[L. 8] स्य [मृगयाक्री]डावनीं गच्छतः [सिं]धुः क्षुभ्यति कंपमाशु [हि] दिशो
[यांत्य] द्रयो पि द्विषः॥ ५
वंशवर्णनं ।
आसीद्व-
[L. 9] णि[ग्बंधुपरीवृतः] प्राग्नाडायण † ग्रामकृताधिवासः।
गोविंददेवो बहुपुण्यकर्म्मदक्षो च रोहीतकवंश-
[L. 10] केतुः॥ ६
[तस्माद्दै गु]णवान् जज्ञे रत्नो रत्नमिवांबुधेः।
येनोढा धर्म्मिणी पत्नी गगनाश्रीः पतिव्रता॥ ७
त-
[L. 11] स्यामजायं[त सु]ताः प्रसिद्धाश्चत्वार एते किल रत्नसाधोः।
गंगाधरो [माध]वलक्ष्मणाख्यावन्यो तु ‡ दामोदर-
[L. 12] [नामधेयः॥ ८]
[ल]घुर्द्दामोदरस्तेषां विरदां प्राप्य सुप्रियां।
श्रीधीरदेव[कृष्णादींस्तनयांल्लब्धवा]न् § नव॥ ९
तेषा-
[L. 13] [मभूत्स]र्व्वकला[स्व]भिज्ञो वाणिज्यकर्म्मक्रयविक्रयज्ञः।
गोभूमिहे[मांबरदानशील]ः श्रीधीरदेवो मतिमा-
[L. 14] न् गुणज्ञः॥ १०
तेनोद्वाह्य शुभां पत्नीं धन्यां धानीतिविश्रुतां।
द्वावंगजौ [रीसडाख्यसुदेवौ] जनिताविमौ॥ ११
[L. 15] राजश्रियं [नाम] पत्नीं रीसडः सत्सुताविमौ।
लेभे दुल्लभदेवाख्यं [श्रीवरं च ततः परं॥ १२]
श्रीश्रीवरः श्रीवर-
[L. 16] पाद[पद्मसेवार]सज्ञो मतिमान् विधिज्ञः।
सद्वंशजे सो लभते ह कांते कल्लणाभि[धानामथ गंगदि]श्रीं॥ १३
[L. 17] श्रीश्रीवरस्येह कलासुदक्षाः पुत्रास्त्रयो मी गुणिनो बभूवुः।
पृथ्वीधरो ज्येष्ठ[पतिव्रतायां जा]तो [परो श्रीधर-]

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* The ī stroke is lost.

† Read: प्राङ् नाडायण॰ ।

‡ Read: ॰न्यस्तु ।

§ The *akṣara* preceding *n* seems to have an *ī* stroke.

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[L. 18] [सोड्ढणाख्यौ] ॥ १४

इंद्रप्रस्थाद्दारुणे दिग्विभागे ग्रामः ख्यातो प्यस्ति नाडायणाख्यः ।
ग्रामादस्माद्दिग्नु-

[L. 19] दीच्यां पितृणां तृप्त्यै कूपः कारितः श्रीधरेण ॥ १५

किमु सुरसरिदंभः शीतलं मिष्टमिष्टं किमिह तदमरैर्वा

[L. 20] च्छिप्तमत्रामृतं यत् ।

इति पथिकसमूहस्तस्य कूपस्य पीत्वा मधुरमुदकमच्छं प्रस्तुवन्याति गेहं ॥ १६
[कृतिर्मदन-]

[L. 21] स्य ॥ संवत् १३८४ भाद्र वदि ३ गुरुदिने । [शुभं भवतु ॥]

Translation.

1. *Hail!* He (Gaṇeśa) who is *known as the destroyer* of every hindrance *for those who bow down before him*; who, being worshipped, fulfills here the wish of his adorers; he, *the lord of obstacles*, *bears* one prominent *tusk* like a terrible crystal staff for the destruction of the enemies of the gods.

2. May [the goddess] Chaṇḍikā who destroys the foes of the Lord of the gods, and stands on *the shoulder* of the buffalo [demon]; she, who is invoked by Hari (Vishṇu), Īśa (S'iva) and the lotus-born (Brahmā) for complete success; the protectress of my house who quickly bestows rewards on *man* and upholds the Universe; may she prove destructive to your sinfulness.

3. There is a great and holy land named Hariyāna where Kṛishṇa with *Pṛithā's sons* (the Pāṇḍavas*) walked [among man] for the suppression of sin.

4. Therein lies this town of Ḍhillī covered with innumerable jewels, whence sin is expelled through the chanting of the Vedas by the knowers of the sacred lore, and which appears lovely by the tinkling of anklets of lovely damsels even as the heavenly river (the Ganges) by the voice of *geese*.

5. There was the renowned Mahamūda Sāhi (Muḥammad Shāh) the crest-jewel of all rulers of the earth; the mighty S'aka lord,† whose foes were overthrown by the valour of his arm, through fear of whom, when going to the *hunting* park, the earth trembles, the *ocean* dries up, all quarters (*viz.*, the whole world) *takes* at once *to* trembling [as well as] the mountains and [his] foes.

Lineage described.

6. There was formerly a merchant who *with his family* made his abode in the village of Nādāyana—Govinda-deva, skilled in many pious works, and the glory of the Rohītaka race.‡

7. *Unto him* was born a *virtuous* son, Ratna (Pearl), even as a pearl is born from the ocean, who, law-abiding, took the faithful Gaganāśrī for wife.

8. By her were born to the good Ratna these four famous *sons:* Gaṅgādhara, *Mādhava*, Lakshmaṇa and one *called* Dāmodara.

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* Pṛithā's sons are, of course, the three eldest Pāṇḍavas. The epithet Pārtha is used particularly of Arjuna, the second Pāṇḍava, but I suppose that here the poet has thought in the first place of Yudhishṭhira the founder of Indraprastha.

† Mitra translates *śakendra* as "the institutor of a new era" (sic).

‡ *Cf.* above p. 29.

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9. The *youngest* among them, Dāmodara, having married the beloved Viradā, *begot* Dhīra-deva, *Kṛishṇa, and other sons* [to the number of] nine.

10. Among them the wise and virtuous Dhīra-deva, accomplished in *every* art and well-versed in mercantile pursuits, in buying and selling, *was liberal in giving* cattle, land, *gold and garments*.

11. He, having married a fair and fortunate lady named Dhānī, begot two sons *Rīsaḍa and Sudeva*.

12. By his wife, Rājaśrī *by name*, Rīsaḍa obtained two goodly sons, namely, one called Dullabha-deva *and another S'rīvara*.

13. The wise S'rīvara, versed in the law and devoted to *the worship of the lotus-like* feet of S'rīvara (Vishṇu, the lord of S'rī), married two wives, Kallyā and *Gaṅgadiśrī*.

14. S'rīvara had three accomplished and virtuous sons—Pṛithvīdhara by his elder *faithful* wife, and the other two *S'rīdhara* and *Solhaṇa* (?) by name.

15. On the west side of Indraprastha there is a village well known by the name of Nāḍāyana; to the north of this village S'rīdhara caused a well to be made for the gratification of his forefathers.

16. "Is this the water of the celestial river (the Ganges)—cool, sweet and wholesome? or is it nectar spilled here by the Immortals?" Thus exclaim the crowd of wayfarers when they proceed home, after drinking the sweet clear water of this well.

The work of Madana. In the year 1384 [the month of] Bhādra [pada], the third day of the dark fortnight, on Thursday. *May good happen of this.*

VI (Cat. No. B, 6). Sanskrit Inscription of the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq and of the Vikrama year 1384 (A.D. 1328).

This inscription, like the previous one, was first brought to notice by Mr. J. G. Delmerick who obtained it from Lala Omra Singh, a member of the Delhi Municipality, and placed it in the local museum in, or shortly before, 1873. The stone appears to have been found in the village of Sarban, 5 miles south of Delhi, which is no doubt identical with the village of Sāravala or Sārabala mentioned in the inscription. Mr. Delmerick—as noted above—had a transcript of it prepared by Pandit Vishveshvar Nāth, a local Sanskrit scholar, which was forwarded by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published, together with an English translation, in the Proceedings of that Society for May 1873, by Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra. In January 1889 it was re-edited in the Epigraphia Indica by Professor J. Eggeling of Edinburgh.*

The inscription is neatly incised on a rectangular slab of black stone measuring 17″ by 11″. It consists of 18 lines, of which 17 cover the width of the stone, whereas the last one measures only 3″ in length It is almost entirely composed in Sanskrit poetry. The metre used is the śloka (*anushṭubh*) except in verses 8 (*Indravajrā*), 9 (*Vasantatilaka*) and 12 and 13 (*Upajāti*).

The first two stanzas are benedictory verses in which the blessings of Gaṇeśa and Satyala (S'iva?) are invoked. In the next four verses the history

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* *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for May 1873, pp. 102-104; and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

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of Delhi (here called Ḍhillī) is briefly sketched from its foundation, till the time when the inscription was written. The city was founded by the Tomaras, the Tunvar Rājpūts, who were superseded by the Chāhamānas or Chauhāṇs. In their turn the latter were conquered by Sahābadīna, *viz.*, Shahābu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ghorī (A.D. 1156-1205), the founder of Moslim supremacy in India. From his time, the author of the inscription says, Ḍhillī was ruled by the Turushkas. The ruling prince was Muhammada Shāhi, or, in other words, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (A.D. 1325-1351). Verses 7-12 contain a eulogy of the ancestors of the two merchants, Khetala and Paitala (or Paitūka), who, as stated in verses 13-14, had a well made in the village of Sāravala, the modern Sarban, "for the bliss of their parents in the next world and for the growth of their offspring." The concluding stanza expresses the wish for the long existence of this well and its founders.

The date is contained in the last but one stanza, the year being indicated by the words Veda (=4), Vasu (=8), Fire (=3) and Moon (1). At the end of the inscription we find the date again, but here the year is given in figures —Vikrama saṁvat 1384, the month Phālguna, the fifth day of the bright fortnight, Tuesday. This corresponds, if the year was an expired one, with the 16th February 1328 A.D., which fell on a Tuesday.

My transcript agrees closely with those of the previous editors of this inscription, except in some minor points. In verse 11, I do not see any reason to change Vīrō into Vīrā as Professor Eggeling suggests. The name Vīrō (for Vīradevī) and other women's names ending in *o*, such as Hīrō, are still in common use in Northern India.* I have adopted Professor Eggeling's version of the inscription with a few unessential modifications.

Text.

[L. 1] ओं स्वस्ति॥ सर्व्वाभीष्टफलं यस्य पदाराधनतत्पराः।
लभंते मनुजास्तस्मै गणाधिपतये नमः॥ १

[L. 2] सत्यलो नाम वः पातु सांबवत्यांबया सह।
प्रसादाद्यस्य देवस्य भक्ताः स्युः सौख्यभाजनं॥ २
देशो स्ति

[L. 3] हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसंनिभः।
ढिल्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता॥ ३
तोमरानं

[L. 4] तरं यस्यां राज्यं निहतकंटकं।
चाहमाना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः॥ ४
अथ प्रतापदह-

[L. 5] नदग्धारिकुलकाननः।
म्लेच्छः सहाबदीनस्तां बलेन जगृहे पुरीं॥ ५
ततः प्रभृति भुक्ता सा तु-

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* Other instances are Ratnō (for Ratnadevī); Rāmō (for Rāmapiyārī, Rāmadūtī or Rāmadevī); Mathrō (for Mathurādevī); Pārō (from Pārbatī); Rājō, and Dharmo (from Dharmavatī). The name Vīrō is given to a girl by a mother who has no sons and hopes to get one.

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[L. 6] रुष्कैर्यावदद्य * पूः ।
श्रीमद्दंमदशाह्निस्तां पाति संप्रति भूपतिः ॥ ६
अपि च ॥
तस्यां पुर्यस्ति वणि-
[L. 7] जायशोतकनिवासिनां ।
वंशः श्रीसाचदेवाख्यः साधुस्तत्रोदपद्यत ॥ ७
लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयो
[L. 8] बभूव लक्ष्मीधरांङ्घ्रिद्वयपद्मभृंगः ।
देवद्विजाराधननिष्ठचित्तः समस्तभूतावनलब्धकीर्त्तिः ॥ ८
[L. 9] लक्ष्मीधरस्य तनयौ कलिकालबाह्यावास्तामुभौ
महिमवारिनिधी सुरूपौ ।
माह्नाभिधो नि-
[L. 10] पुणबुद्धिरभूत्तदाद्यो घीकाख्य उत्तम-
यशा अनुजस्तु तस्य ॥ ९
माह्नाख्यस्याभवत्पुत्रो मेल्हा-
[L. 11] नामा मनोहरः ।
देवद्विजगुरूणां यः सदाराधनतत्परः ॥ १०
श्रीधरस्यात्मजां बीरोनाम्नीं भर्तृप-
[L. 12] रायणां ।
घीका विवाहयामास तस्यामास्तामुभौ सुतौ ॥ ११
ज्यै(ज्ये)ष्ठस्तयोः खेतलनामधेयः साधुत्वपाथो-
[L. 13] धिरनंतशीलः ।
पैतूकनामा च लघु समस्तगुरुद्विजाराधनशीलचित्तः ॥ १२
अथैतयोः खेतल-
[L. 14] पैतलाख्यसाध्वोः सदाकीर्त्तनकर्मबुद्ध्योः ।
इयं शुभा सारवलाभिधानग्रामांतभूरध्यवसत्स्म † चित्ते ॥ १३
[L. 15] पित्रोर्यामच्चयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै संतानवृद्धये ।
षे(खे)तलः ‡ पैत[ल*]स्चैन(नं) कारयामासतुः प्रधिं ॥ १४
वेदवसु-
[L. 16] शिचंद्रांकसंख्येब्दे विक्रमार्क्कतः ।
पंचम्यां फाल्गुनसिते लिखितं भौमवासरे ॥ १५
इंद्रप्रस्थप्रति-

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* Read : तुरुष्कैर्यावदद्य ।

† The use of स्म with the preterite is ungrammatical.

‡ On the substitution of ष for ख cf. above, p. 19.

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[L. 17] गखे ग्रामे सारवले त्र तु ।
चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपो यं कारकस्य सबांधवः ॥ १६
संवत् १३८४ फाल्गुन सु-
[L. 18] दि ५ भौमदिने ॥

Translation.

V. 1. Hail! Worship be unto that Lord of Gaṇas through constant devotion for whose feet men obtain the fruit of all their desires.

2. May he, who is called Satyala,* together with Ambā and Ambavatī, protect you, that god by whose grace the faithful shall be a vessel of bliss!

3. There is a country, called Hariyāna, a very heaven on earth: there lies the city called Ḍhillī, built by the Tomaras,

4. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Chāhamāna kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

5. Thereupon the Barbarian Sahābadīn (S͟hahābu-d-dīn), having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.

6. Thenceforward that city has been in the possession of the Turushkas to this day: at present Prince S'rī Mahammad S'āhi (Muḥammad S͟hāh) rules over it.

7. Now, in that city there is a family of merchants dwelling in Agrotaka †: in this family was born the virtuous S'rī Sāchadeva.

8. His son was Lakshmīdhara, the bee on the lotus-like pair of Lakshmīdhara's (Vishṇu's) feet, whose mind was ever bent on the propitiation of the gods and Brāhmins, and who obtianed fame by his kindness to all beings.

9. Lakshmīdhara had two sons, who were strangers to the Age of Sin; both of them oceans of greatness, and of goodly form. The first of them was Māha by name, of subtle mind; and his younger brother, named Ghīkā, of highest renown.

10. Māha had a charming son, named Melhā, who was ever bent on propitiating the gods, Brāhmins and Gurus.

11. Ghīkā married S'rīdhara's daughter, Vīro by name, devoted to her husband, by whom he had two sons,—

12. The elder of them, Khetala by name, an ocean of goodness, and of boundless piety; and the younger, named Paitūka, whose mind was devoted to the propitiation of all Gurus and Brāhmins.

13. Now in the thought of those two virtuous men, Khetala and Paitala, whose minds were occupied with deeds of renown, was dwelling this fair piece of ground in the vicinity of the village called Sāravala.

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* This epithet (? "the truthful one"), apparently intended here as a name for S'iva, has not been found in any Sanskrit work.

† Rajendra Lal Mitra takes this to be "the original," or Sanskrit form, of Āgrā, the merchants or baniyās of which place are well known all over India as the Agarwālā Baniyās. Perhaps it may be the name (derived from Āgrā) of the quarter of the town of Ḍhilli where these merchants resided.

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14. Khetala and Paitala, with the view of their deceased ancestors attaining to imperishable Heaven, and for the continuation of their race, caused this well to be made.

15. Written in the year countable by Veda (4), Vasu (8), Fire (3) and Moon (1), from the time of Vikramārka, on Tuesday the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna.

16. In this village of Sāravala, in the *pratigaṇa* of Indraprastha,* may this well, and its author with his family, exist for a long time.

Saṁvat 1384, bright Phālguna 5, Tuesday.

VII (Cat. No. C, 16). Arabic and Persian Inscription of A. H. 968 (A.D. 1560).

This inscription is incised on a circular stool (ht : 2′ ½″, diameter 1′ 1¼″) of red sandstone. The inscription consists of a well-known passage from the Qurān, a sentence in Persian, and the date expressed in figures. It opens with "Bismillāh." It should be remembered that each chapter of the Qurān begins with this formula. The second portion is known by the name of *Ayat-ul kursī* (آية الكرسي) "the verse of the (heavenly) chair." It is taken from the second chapter of the Qurān called *Al-Baqara* (the Cow). As the word *kursī* "a chair," occurs in this verse, it is commonly known by this name.

It is said that this inscribed stone was placed over the entrance, or on the façade of the central archway of a mosque somewhere near Purānā Qil'a. The date A.H. 968 corresponds to A.D. 1560.

Text.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما

فی الارض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا

يحيطون بشيء من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما

و هو العلي العظيم

يا الهي بحق اين كلمه مصطفی را بده محبت ذات

٩٦٨

Translation.

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate."

"God ! there is no God but He, who is living, and self-subsisting. Sleep and slumber seizeth him not. Every earthly and heavenly thing belongeth to Him. Who can intercede with Him, save by His own permission ? He knoweth

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* The word *pratigaṇa* probably stands for *parganā*, "a subdivision of a district." Indraprastha is the name of the town founded by Yudhishṭhira ; it is evidently preserved in the modern Indrapat south of Shāhjahānābād.

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their present and past, and His knowledge cometh not within their compass, except what He Himself pleaseth. His throne extendeth over heaven and earth, and their preservation is not onerous to Him. He is the High and Mighty."

"O! God give me Thy love in virtue of this chosen word. 968."

VIII. (Cat. No. C, 17). Persian Inscription of A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593).

This inscription is carved on a slab (ht. 2′ 7″, width 1′ 7″) of white marble, and consists of twenty-three lines. It is said to have been found in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Niẕāmu-d-dīn Auliyā. It is not written in a scholarly fashion and contains several grammatical and idiomatical mistakes. Mr. Irvine remarks: "The composition is rambling and confused. Much seems to be an attempt at rhyming prose, and this accounts for the number of extraordinary inversions in the order of the words."

The inscription gives a considerable account of a person named Maḥmūd, the expenditure incurred in connection with a tomb and other buildings built by him, and the date, together with the writer's name. We learn from it that Maḥmūd, the founder of these buildings, lived in the reign of three Mughal Emperors, *viz.*, Humāyūn, Akbar, and Jahāngīr, and that the date of the erection was A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593). At this time, however, Akbar was still reigning; Jahāngīr ascended the throne in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605). The date of Maḥmūd's death is unknown; probably he died in the beginning of the reign of Jahāngīr. I find no mention of this inscription in the *Āṡāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, or in the Archæological Reports.*

Text.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اول بزرگ نام الله که هزده هزار عالم بيافريده و پنج
آدم آدم صفی الله دوم حضرت محمد مصطفی که امت اويند و چهار با صفا
حضرت ابو بکر حضرت عمر حضرت عثمان حضرت علي *

ذکر حضرت خواجه قطب الدين † و تخت دهلي قايم و دايم است کرامات
او شود مددگار حضرت شيخ نظام الدين اوليا در تخت دهاي کرامات او ظهور است
عرض ميدارد اين محمود در طواف بندگي ايشان فقير دايم حضور است عرض
ميدارد اين محمود چند روزی که حياتم غنيمت دار هر وقتی که اجل رسيد ‡ چاره
بدارد هر روزی که ميگذرد بشمار عرض ميدارد اين محمود خانه واحدي چشتي
مريدم خواجه علي حقاني پير منست بزرگوار عرض ميدارد اين محمود به بزرگان
خود بنده وار از دولت مادر و پدر خود عيش فراغت کرديم ارمان نماند سالها بسيار

* Mr. Irvine is of opinion that the date ought to be read A.H. 10[2]2—A.D. 1613-14, which would fall in Jahāngīr's reign.

† Read در تخت دهلي.

‡ Read چاره نداري

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عرض میدارد محمود خان بدرگاه خدا و ذکر جنت آشیاني محمد همایون بادشاه
و ذکر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه ماندم بقرنها و بسالها که حله بهشت روزي کند
بعد ازان جان شد از تن جدا از غلامي بادشاهان و از غلامي خوبان ندارد عار بنده درگاه
قدیم الخدمت محمود رکابدار و سرافراز کرده ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه
حکم شد که تو پیر شدهٔ طواف جنت آشیاني و با کولي بکن اختیار حضرت دهلي
برو وطني شو کورخانه و عمارت بخود بسازم ازین فقیر کورخانه بنا کرد در مقام حضرت
دهلي در محلي باجي خان کورخانه شد طیار در حلال وجه خود چاه مسجد راوقي
و چار دیواري سنگي و خشتي انچه خرچ شد مزد و مصالح مبلغ دو لکه نود هزار
سکه محمود عرض میدارد که عمرم آخر شد هشتاد نه سال از دولت بادشاهان عیش
و فراغت کردیم بسیار ای محمود هیچ از مال نماند داد ستاد خرید فروخت هرچه
سود کردیم از بازار از مال نماندهر وقتی که اجل تقدیر رسد در مقام دهلي حال ازین شود
جدا بسپارند بآن مزار هرکدام فرزندان و نبیره و نواسه که از نسل منند وارثانند
جمال خان و حسین خان کمال خان و جلال خان و شیحالخان * و خورد کلان وارث
کور خانه و مقبر اند مقام حضرت دهلي حاکمان و زمین داران اکابران و حق
همسایگان بفرزندان مسند نکند اعتبار بسپارند بهر بفرزندان بعد از فوت که وارث این
مقبره اند که وجه حلال خود ساخته ام خورد کلان حق همسایه و شیخ و شیخ زاده
همه را سلام رخصت دهلي گرفته ایم و السلام هرچه صاحب عمارت فرمود کاتب
الحروف عبد النبي خان نقل نمود سنه هزار و دو *

Translation.

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate."

"At first [I say :] great is the name of God who has created the eighteen thousand universes and five men. Adam, the select of God; second, the Prophet Muḥammad, the chosen, whose followers are all men†; and the four select friends, Ḥazrat Abūbakr, Ḥazrat 'Umar, Ḥazrat 'Uṣmān, [and] Ḥazrat 'Alī. The mention of Ḥazrat Khwājah Quṭbu-d-dīn in the seat of Delhi is perpetual, may his miracles prove a source of help. Ḥazrat Shaikh Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliā, in the seat of Delhi, his miracles are evident."

"Humbly says this Maḥmūd that he is a *faqīr* ever present in the

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* This name seems to be misread. Can it be : سنجالخان ?

† One would expect a word like همه in the text. Perhaps it has been omitted from the transcript.

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performance of their service. Says this Maḥmūd: 'Value the present life. When death approaches, you will find no remedy. Take account of the days which pass.'* States this Maḥmūd that he is the disciple of the house of Wāḥidī Chishtī. Khwājāh 'Alī Ḥaqqānī is his noble spiritual guide. Says this Maḥmūd to his elders, like a slave, that through his father and mother he has so much enjoyed his life and for so many years that no desire whatever is left unfulfilled. Humbly Maḥmūd Khān supplicates God: 'May the name of the heaven-nestled Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn and the name of Muḥammad Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar be perpetuated for many centuries and generations, and may they be given the robe of paradise, after the soul departed from the body.' This old slave of the Court does not feel any shame in serving the kings and the noblemen. This old slave of the Court, Maḥmūd, the stirrup-holder, and honoured by the Emperor Abu-l Muẓaffar Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, was told: 'You have grown old, serve in the mausoleum of the heaven-nestled (Humāyūn) and assume the Bākulī (?), go to Delhi, live there, build your tomb and house there.' This *faqīr* built a cemetery, and it was completed in the seat of Delhi, in the quarters of Bāji Khān, with honestly-earned money, together with a well, a mosque and a rest-house surrounded by walls of stone and brick. The total amount of expenses, including the wages of workmen and the other necessary articles, was two hundred and ninety thousand (290,000) tankas."

"Humbly says Maḥmūd that, his age having reached 89 years, he has come near the end, and that he has passed his life in luxury and ease, through the kindness of the kings. 'Oh Maḥmūd, no desire is left unfulfilled, giving, taking, buying and selling, all bargains we have done within the Bāzār, no more is to be done now. When the time of death comes near, in the seat of Delhi, and the soul leaves the body, the body should be interred in that cemetery by my sons and grandsons, who are my descendants and heirs: Jamāl Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Kamāl Khān, Jalāl Khān, Shaiḥāl Khān, small and great, who are the heirs of the tomb and the grave. In the seat of Delhi, the rulers, the landholders, the elders and the neighbours should entrust this tomb to my sons; for after my death these my sons are my heirs, and deserve the possession of this tomb, which was built by me with honestly-earned money. The small and the great, the neighbours, the *shaikhs*, and the sons of the *shaikhs*—to all I say my greeting and ask the permission to leave Delhi (for ever).' Whatsoever the owner of the building said, the writer of the letters Abd-un-Nabī Khān copied it."

"In the year one thousand and two."

IX. (Cat. No. C, 18). Persian Inscription of the 17th year of Jahāngīr (A.D. 1621).

This inscription is carved on a slab (ht. 1′ 8½″, width 3′ 9″) of white marble, and consists of four lines. It records the construction of the Salīmgaṛh Bridge by Jahāngīr in the 17th year of his reign, corresponding to A.H. 1031 or A.D. 1621. It contains the name of the person under whose supervision it was constructed, and the name of the writer. A mention of this inscription has been made by Syed Ahmed † in his description of the Salīmgaṛh Bridge, but Carr Stephen failed to notice it.‡ It must have been removed to the Municipal Museum when the railway line was constructed and the old bridge

* Perhaps it would be better to translate: "Count each day that passes away."

† *Āsāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, 2nd edition, Lucknow, 1876, Chapter II, p. 22.

‡ Archæology of Delhi, p. 195.

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demolished. According to the statement given by Syed Ahmed, this inscription was on the west side of the bridge, and there was another inscription of one line, which will be mentioned afterwards, on the east side.*

Text.

(الله اکبر) بحکم پادشاه هفت کشور
(یا فتاح)
(جل جلاله) شهنشاه بعدل و داد و تدبیر
(یا ناصر) جهانگیر ابن شاهنشاه اکبر
(یا حي)
(یا فیاض) که شمشیرش جهان را کرد تسخیر
(سنه ۱۷) چو این پل گشت در دهلي مرتب
(جهانگیري)
(جلوس) که وصفش را نشاید کرد تحریر
(باهتمام) پی تاریخ اتمامش خرد گفت
(کتبه شریف)
(حسین حلبي)† پل شاهنشه دهلي جهانگیر

۱۰۳۱

Translation.

" By the order of the King of the seven Climes, the Emperor [who rules] with equity, justice and good government, who is Jahāngīr, the son of Emperor Akbar, whose sword has subdued the world. When this bridge was built in Delhi, the praise of which cannot be described, for the date of its completion thus Wisdom spoke: 'It is a bridge built by Jahāngīr, the Emperor of Delhi.' "

The value of the letters of this chronogram (*Pul-ī-s͟hāhans͟hah-ī-Dihlī Jahāngīr*) is equal to A.H. 1031 (A.D. 1621).

The meaning of the words placed between brackets in the original is as follows: (God is great). (Great in his glory). (O! The most Victorious). (O! Helper). (O! Bounteous). (O! Immortal). (In the year 17) (of the accession) (of Jahāngīr) (under the management) (of Ḥusain Ḥalabī). (Written by S͟harīf).

There was another inscription on the east side of the Salīmgaṛh Bridge. In contained only one line, which is recorded in the *Ās̤āru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* of Syed Ahmed, and a copy of which I give below with its translation.‡

Text.

الله اکبر

شد بحکم شاه نور الدین جهانگیر عظیم * سال و تاریخش مبارک آن صراط المستقیم

سنه ۱۰۳۱ هـ

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* *Ās̤āru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Chapter IV, p. 63.

† This word can be read حلبي = Ḥalabī, or حبسي Ḥabsī.

‡ *Ās̤āru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Chapter II, p. 22.

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Translation.

"God is great."

"It was built by the order of King Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr the Great. The year and auspicious date [of its erection is found in the following chronogram]: *Ān ṣirāṭ-ul-mustaqīm.* 'This is the right path.' A.H. 1031."

In this inscription the value of the letter ل = a in المستقيم (= *almustaqīm*) is omitted, because the letter in question is only written here, and not read, otherwise the value of the chronogram would have exceeded the number required (1031) by one.

X. (Cat. No. C, 19). Persian Inscription of A.H. 1052 (A.D. 1642).

This slab (ht. 1′ 6½″, width 9′ 1″) of red sandstone, is inscribed with a Persian inscription of two lines. It records the construction of a palace named K͟hāṣṣ Maḥall by the daughter of Zain K͟hān, one of the generals of Akbar, in the reign of S͟hāh Jahān. This palace is thus described by Syed Ahmed*: "Near the Purānā Qil'a there stood a palace (*maḥall*) which was built by Zain K͟hān's daughter, whose title was "K͟hāṣṣ Maḥall," in S͟hāh Jahān's time in A.H. 1042, corresponding to A.D. 1632. Now this palace is in ruins and only the gate remains."

I cannot agree with Syed Ahmed's view that "K͟hāṣṣ Maḥall" was the name of Zain K͟hān's daughter. From the inscription we understand plainly that it was the name of a palace built by her. He also erroneously puts the date of its erection as A.H. 1042 (A.D. 1632). Apparently, he only took the numerical value of the letters "*Ba-sarā-ī Maḥall-i-K͟hāṣṣ*," and did not consider the word "*Jawāb*" as part of the chronogram. Moreover, the figures 1052, given below the chronogram, he overlooked.

[Mr. Irvine and other authorities support Syed Ahmed's view that "K͟hāṣṣ Maḥāll" denotes the lady-founder and not the building. "A daughter of Zain K͟hān Koka," that scholar remarks, "was married to Jahāngīr (*Akbarnāma* III, 710), but there is no evidence so far that she was styled 'K͟hāṣṣ Maḥāll,' although such a title should be quite appropriate." The word used in the inscription to designate the building is *sarāi*, and I see no reason why it should not be taken in its ordinary sense of "karavānsarāi." That a noble lady should build a palace (for whom ?) outside the royal precincts seems highly improbable. Besides, this could hardly be styled an act of "generosity." On the contrary, there are several instances of *sarāis* for travellers having been built by ladies of the Mug͟hal Court. A well-known instance is the *sarāi* of Nūr Jahān at Nūr-Maḥal in the Jālandhar District, described by Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XIV, pp. 58-62. Another notable example is the *sarāi* of Jahānārā Begam at Delhi, mentioned by Bernier (*Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 70). It stood on the site of the Queen's Gardens.—J. Ph. V.]

Text.

بدور شاه جهان صاحب قران ثاني
که در جهانست جهان پرور و سپهر جناب
بنا نهاد بهين زمانه خاص محل
درين زمين بکرم بنت زينخان درياب

* *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpur, 1904, p. 63.

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همیشه باد بزیر سپهر بوقلمون
همی ضمیر منیرش پے صلاح و صواب
اگر ز سال بنایش بود سوال ترا
حساب کن بسراے محل خاص جواب
۱۰۵۲

Translation.

"In the reign of Shāh Jahān, the second Lord of the happy conjunction,* who is the protector of the people in this world, and whose threshold is as exalted as heaven."

"Know this! that in the most auspicious time the daughter of Zain Khān built this Khāṣṣ Maḥall on this spot, with her generosity."

"May her enlightened mind be ever inclined to virtue and integrity under the variegated sky."

"If you put a question as regards the date of its erection, then find out the answer by [adding the numerical value of the letters of *Jawāb* to] *Sarāi Maḥal Khāṣ.*"

The value of the letters of this chronogram is equal to A.H. 1052 (A.D. 1642) as given in figures under it.

XI. (Cat. No. C, 27). Armenian Inscription of A.D. 1781.

This inscription is cut on a white marble tablet measuring $8\frac{1}{4}''$ by $1'\ \frac{3}{4}''$, the letters being inlaid in black marble. In the centre is a cross. The inscription consists of four lines. Nothing is known regarding its origin. It was in the Delhi Municipal Museum in 1888, when the old catalogue was printed. From its contents it may be surmised that it belonged to a house founded by an Armenian of the name of Joseph Diphanos in A.D. 1781, presumably in Delhi City. For the following transcript and translation, I am indebted to Professor Holger Pedersen of the Copenhagen University.

Text.

Astutsov tuns Urumiathsi Yousēph Diphanosi i thivn Yisusi 1781.

Translation.

"With the aid of God the house of the Urumian Joseph Diphanos in the year of Jesus 1781."

Professor Pedersen thinks that the word *Urumiathsi* is derived from *Urum, i.e.*, Rūm or Turkey. It seems to me more probable that it means a resident of the town of Urumiah in Persia.

XII. (Cat. No. C, 28). Persian Inscription of A.H. 1222 (A.D. 1807).

This inscription, in one line, is cut inside a basin (ht. 2′ 1″, base 3′ by 2′) of white marble. This basin once contained the Qadam Sharīf ("the holy foot

* Timūr (*alias* Tamerlane) bore the title of Ṣāḥib-qirān, meaning "Lord of the auspicious conjunction." Shāh Jahān called himself Ṣāḥib-qirān Ṣānī "the second Lord of the auspicious conjunction," in other words "the second Timūr."

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print") of the Prophet, which is also in the Museum. It is related that this footprint was placed in the basin, which was then filled with water for the use of the people. This practice still continues at the Qadam S͟harīf on the grave of Prince Fatḥ K͟hān, son of Fīrōz S͟hāh.* There are many *Qadam S͟harīfs* in India. Those in Delhi, Agra and Lahore are well known.

This Qadam S͟harīf was originally placed on the northern side of the Mahtāb Bāg͟h (Moonlight Garden) of the Delhi Fort, and was named Darga Qadam S͟harīf.† From the date of the inscription, A.H. 1222, corresponding to A.D. 1807, it follows that it was placed here in the time of Akbar II, one year after his accession, which took place in A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1806).‡

Text.

آب قدم الشریف محمد رسول الله

۱۲۲۲

Translation.

"The water for the holy footprint of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God, A.H. 1222."§

XIII. (Cat. No. C, 31). Sanskrit-Hindī Inscription of the Vikrama year 1877 and the Saka year 1742 (A.D. 1821).

This brief inscription, composed partly in Sanskrit and partly in the Eastern Hindī dialect known as Braj-bhākhā, is of quite recent date. Regarding its provenance no information is forthcoming. When I saw it first, it had a half-effaced label, on which the letters *krabad* were still legible. It is written on a stone tablet nearly 13″ square, the inscribed portion forming an inner square of 9″ in both directions. It consists of eight lines. The letters, measuring ¾″ to 1″ in height, are clumsy and badly shaped. In this respect the inscription forms a striking contrast with the earlier Sanskrit inscriptions preserved in the Museum. It is interesting to note that the letters are raised, as is the case with all Muhammadan inscriptions. In Pre-Muhammadan epigraphs the letters are nearly always sunk.

The inscription records the erection of an image (or perhaps a *liṅga*) of S'iva by a lady called Durgā Bāī, the wife of Pūrṇānand, who was a Bhaṭṭ by caste. The cost is stated to have been Rs. 500-4. The date is Vikrama 1877, S'aka 1742, the month Māgha, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight, Monday, corresponding to the 12th February (new style), A.D. 1821.

Text.

[L. 1] श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीशिवाय

[L. 2] नमः स(सं)वत् १८७७ शा(शा)के

[L. 3] १[७]४२ माघ शुक्ल एकाद-

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* *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, 2nd edition, Lucknow, 1876, Chapter I, p. 92.

† *Op. cit.*, Chapter II, p. 21. See also the old map of Delhi in the Museum (Cat. No. F, 2).

‡ Akbar S͟hāh II, son of S͟hāh 'Ālam, ascended the throne of Delhi in A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1806), and died at the age of 79 years in A.H. 1253 (A.D. 1837).

§ *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣānādīd*, Cawnpur, 1904, p. 43.

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[L. 4] श्री चंद्रवार कू भट्ट जी पूर्णान (नं)-
[L. 5] द जी की स्त्री दु[र्गा] बाई ने शिव
[L. 6] स्थापन क[र]यो लागात (गत)
[L. 7] ५००।) शिव शिव हर
[L. 8] गंगाधर महादेव

Translation.

"Reverence to Lord Gaṇeśa. Reverence to Lord S'iva. In the [Vikrama] year 1877, the S'aka [year] 1742, [the month] Māgha, the bright [fortnight] the eleventh [day] on Monday was an [image or *liṅga* of] S'iva set up by Durgā Bāī, the wife of the Bhaṭṭ Pūrṇanand, at the cost of Rs. 500-4. S'iv, S'iv, Har, Gaṅgādhar, Mahādev."*

XIV. (Cat. No. C, 40). Fragmentary Persian Inscription.

The following six fragments of a Persian inscription were found near the Municipal Museum. They are too incoherent to convey any meaning.

No. 1.

بیکجـــای گـــرد آورده و با منعـــت

عدت جنـــگ قرار گرفتـــه و بهیـــچ

Transcript.

Ba yak jā gird āwardah wi bā mana't....'uddat jang qarār griftah wa ba-haich.

Translation.

"At one place he collected, and with great........preparations, the war was settled , and by no......"

No. 2.

عفـــو و صفـح در حق ایشـــان

مبذول گردانیدم و همه را موافقت

Transcript.

Afv wo ṣafḥ dar haqq-i-īshān mabzūl gardānīdīm wa hama-rā muwāfaqat ...."

Translation.

"Pardoning and forgiving we bestowed on them, and to all............ ...."

* Har, Gaṅgādhar and Mahādev are other names for Siva.

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No. 3.

شدہ بود و درو خطی نبشتہ

کے حروف ان مردم این عہد

Shudah būd ē dar-ō-khattu nabishtah ki ḥurūf-i-ān [mardum-i-īn ʻahd. ...."

Translation.

"Had been, and on it an inscription was written in such letters that the people of this time.."

No. 4.

میگویند مضمون آنرا مطالعہ کند

در سنہ ست و سنہ سبع بقصد فتح

Transcript.

.... *Mīgoyand mazmūn-ī-ān rā mutāla'ah kunad dar sanah sitt wa sana sab' ba qaṣd-i-fatḥ* ....

Translation.

...., they say that the contents of it should be read. In the year six and the year seven with an object of conquering.."

No. 5.

و جیلخانہ ریف

بار برداري باشد

Transcript.

Wa-jēl-khāna ....
Bār bardārī bāshad.

Translation.

"And the prison.........................it will be the means of conveyance."

No. 6.

د ساختہ و دود

سنگ بو رای منہ

Transcript.

..........*Sākhtah wo*...................*Sang Dev Rai*................

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Translation.

" It was made and......................Sang Dev Rai............."

B.—FARMANS.

I. (Cat. No. G, 1). Farmān of the second year of Akbar II or A.H. 1223 (A.D. 1808).

Illuminated farmān (ht. 2′ 1″, width 1′ 2″). This farmān was issued by Mīrzā Jahāngīr. It should be remembered that Mīrzā Jahāngīr was the elder son of Akbar II. It was he who fired a pistol at Mr. Stein, who narrowly escaped the bullet which touched his hat. Upon this he was honourably imprisoned in Allahabad,* and after his death, which took place in A.H. 1248 (A.D 1832), his body was buried near the shrine of Niẕāmu-d-dīn Auliyā at Delhi, and his grave was enclosed by a beautiful screen or *muḥajjar* which was set up by his mother.†

This farmān was issued in the second year of Akbar's reign corresponding to A.H. 1223 (A.D. 1808). It is written in very flowery language. The petitioner applied for a copy of the Sanad which he had lost, and which recorded that the title of "Faujdār K͟hān Rafīq Jang," and the rank of "Four thousand foot and two thousand horse" conferred upon Mīr G͟hulām, was given to his son, the applicant, as inheritance.

Text.

هو القادر

بادشاهزاده میرزا محمد جهانگیر شاه بهادر

بتاریخ روز یکشنبه ششم شهر صفر سنه جلوس مبارک معلی موافق سنه ۱۲۲۳ هجري مطابق ۱۵ فروردي ماه برساله وکلای نواب قدسي القاب بلند جناب عالمتاب فرزند ارجمند بجان پیوند نو بادهٔ ریاض سلطنت عظمی سرو شاداب حدیقه خلافت کبری مفتاح کنوز بادشاهي مصباح رواق والای شاهنشاهي رافع اعلام فتح و نصرت مفتح ابواب عدالت و نصفت مطرح انوار فتوحات رباني مطمح انظار عنایات سبحاني در درخشان خاندان تمر خاني لعل روان کان کورکاني هزبر میدان دلاوري و دلیري قسور بیشه شیرمردي و شیري سحاب نیسان جود و سخاوت ابر مدرار کرم و همت خورشید جهان افروز سپهر تاجداري ماه عالمتاب فلک نامداري فروزان انجم چرخ ابهت و جلالت سهاب ثاقب سپهر شوکت و حشمت مروج دین متین محمدي حامي شرع شریف احمدي چراغ دودمان

* Zakā-ullāh, *Tārīk͟h-i-Hindūstān*, Vol. VIII, pp. 344-346.

† *Ās̱āru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpur 1904, Chapter II, p. 100. Also Keene's *Handbook to Delhi*, sixth edition, Calcutta 1906, p. 54.

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صاحبقراني المويد بتائيدات يزداني قره باصره دولت و اقبال غره ناصيه جاه و جلال خورشيد طلعت مريخ صولت رفيع منزلت منيع مرتبت سر آمد شاهزادهاى عاليتبار مقدمة الجيش فرزندان كامگار صاحب عالم و نوبت واقع نگاري كمترين خانه زادان درگاه خوردترين سجده‌گاه عبوديت آهنگ محكم سكنه قلبى كه حكم جهانمطاع افتاب شعاع شرف نفاذ يافت كه فوجدار خان بمنصب چهار هزار بذات دو هزار سوار و خطاب رفيق جنگ بهادر بورثه پدر خود سرفراز شد و رقمه هفتدهم محرم سنه ۲۰ بموجب تصديق ياداشت قلمي شد بعرض مكرر رسانيد *

شانزدهم شهر جمادى الاولى معلى سنه ۲ والا

بعرض مكرر مقدس رسيد

شرح دستخط وكلاى

نواب قدسي القاب بلند جناب عالمتاب فرزند ارجمند بجان پيوند نو بادۀ رياض سلطنت عظمى سرو شاداب حديقه خلافت كبرى مفتاح كنوز بادشاهي مصباح رواق والاے شاهنشاهي رافع اعلام فتح و نصرت مفتح الباب عدالت و نصفت مطرح انوار فتوحات رباني مطمح انظار عنايت سبحاني در درخشان خانداني تمرخاني لعل روان كان كوركاني هزبر ميدان دلاوري و دليري قسور بيشه شيرمردي و شيري سحاب نيسان جود و سخاوت ابر مدرار كرم و همت خورشيد جهان افروز سپهر تاجداري ماه عالمتاب فلك نامداري فروزان انجم چرخ ابهت و جلالت شهاب ثاقب سپهر شوكت و حشمت مروج دين متين محمدي حامي شرع شريف احمدي چراغ دودمان صاحب قراني المويد بتائيدات يزداني قره باصره دولت و اقبال غره ناصيه جاه و جلال خورشيد طلعت مريخ صولت رفيع منزلت منيع مرتبت سر آمد شاهزادهاى عاليتبار مقدمة الجيش فرزندان كامگار صاحب عالم آنكه و الواقعه نمايند *

نقل دستخط انور صاد بادشاهزاده مرزا محمد جهانگير شاه بهادر

عرضي گذرانيده مشار اليه مزين بدستخط خاص

مير غلام مرحوم خطاب فوجدار خان بهادر رفيق جنگ بمنصب چهار هزار ذات و دو هزار سوار برقرارند است بعد انتقال اوشان خانرا و هم بهمان خطاب

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و منصب سرفرازي حاصل ساخته اما فرد دستخطي حضور که در سنه ١٥ مبارک
حاصل شده بود گم شد اميدوار فضل و کرم است که بدستخط صاد مزين شوند
که تا از دفتر بخشيگري سند خاص نيامد شرح دستخط حضرت صاحبعالم آنکه
مطابق دستخط خاص بعمل آرند *

بابت چهار هزار ذات

تحرير بتاريخ شهر صدر سنه مشار اليه جلوس والا

مطابق واقعه کل است

Translation.

" He the Powerful."

" The Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh Bahādur."

" Dated on the day of Sunday, the sixth of the month of Ṣafar, in the second year of the royal accession, corresponding to A.H. 1223 and to the 15th Farwardi."

" Through the Deputies of the Nawāb of holy titles, exalted threshold, illuminating the world, the illustrious son, part of the heart, first fruit of the garden of the great kingdom; the fresh cypress of the orchard of high Califate; the key of the treasuries of the Monarchy; the lamp of the high niche of the Empire; the raiser of the standards of success and victory and conquest; the opener of the gates of justice and equity; the place of the falling of the lights of the divine revelations; a mark of the gracious looks of God; the shining pearl of the family of Tīmūr; the ruby of the mine of Gorgān; the tiger of the wood of bravery and courage; the lion of the forest of heroism and lion-heartedness; the sparing rain of generosity and munificence; the raining cloud of benevolence and magnanimity; the world-lighting sun of the sky of kingship; the universe-brightening moon of the heaven of glory; the bright star of the sky of excellency and majesty; the effulgent meteor of the firmament of glory and magnificence; the promulgator of the strong faith of the Prophet Muḥammad; the defender of the holy law of the Prophet Aḥmad; the lamp of the family of Ṣāḥib-Qirān,* supported by the grace of God; the pupil of the eye of kingdom and fortune; the bright forehead of dignity and glory; the sun-faced, the Mars-valoured, of lofty dignity, and high rank; the head of the princes of high family; the vanguard of the successful princes."

" And it was written by Muḥkam Singh Qalbī, the lowest of those brought up in the palace of the kings, seeking for becoming a slave, on his turn as a reporter. The order of the world-obeyed rays of the sun of nobility was issued that upon Faujdār Khān is bestowed the dignity of 'four thousand foot and two thousand horse,' and the title of Rafīq Jang Bahādur, which he inherits from his father. The 17th of Muḥarram of the year 51 in accordance with the confirmation of the memorandum was written."

" On the 16th of the month of Jumādi-l-ūlā in the second year of the exalted (accession) was put in the holy presence a second time (for final order)."

" The signature of the Deputies of the Nawāb of holy titles, exalted

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* *Cf.* above p. 43 n.

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threshold, illuminating the world, the illustrious son, part of the heart, the first fruit of the gardens of the great kingdom; the fresh cypress of the orchard of high Califate; the key of the treasuries of royalty; the lamp of the high niche of the Empire; the raiser of the standards of victory and conquest; the opener of the gate of justice and equity; the place of the falling of the lights of divine revelations; a mark of the looks of the grace of God; the shining pearl of the house of Tīmūr; the ruby of the mine of Gorgān; the tiger of the wood of bravery and courage; the lion of the forest of intrepidity, and lion-heartedness; the pouring cloud of generosity and liberality; the world-lighting sun of the sky of kingship; the universe-brightening moon of the heaven of glory; the bright star of the firmament of glory and magnificence; the effulgent meteor of the sky of fortune and favour; the promulgator of the strong faith of the Prophet Muḥammad; the defender of the great law of the Prophet Aḥmad; the lamp of the family of Ṣāḥib-Qirān,* supported by the Divine help; the pupil of the eye of kingdom and fortune; the bright forehead of dignity and glory; the sun-faced, the Mars-awed, of lofty dignity and high rank; the head of the princes of high family; the vanguard of the successful princes, should be described."

"The copy of the bright signature of consent by the Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh Bahādur."

"The application presented by the abovenamed, decorated with the royal signature."

"The late Mīr Ghulām, whose title was 'Faujdār Khān Bahādur Rafiq Jang,' together with the rank of 'four thousand foot and two thousand horse.' After his death, upon this humble servant was also conferred the same rank and title, but the document bearing the royal signature, which he was fortunate enough to obtain in the year 51, has been lost. He therefore humbly requests the gracious favour of the document being adorned with the royal signature that he may be able to get a special certificate from the office of the General Paymaster. The signature of the Prince was that they should act according to the significance of the mandate."

"Subject: (*title of*) four thousand foot."

"Written on the date of the said month of the year referred to the royal accession."

"True copy."

II. (Cat. No. G, 2). Farmān of the 25th year of Akbar II or A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1829).

This *farmān* (3′ 5″ by 2′ ½″) records that Muḥammad Akbar Shāh II conferred the title of "Nāṣiru-d-daula Bahādur 'Alī Jang" on Colonel James Skinner. It is written in very careful handwriting. On the right side of the *farmān* we find an impression of the seal of the above-mentioned king. It is circular, with a decorative border of conventional flowers. A representation of a parasol† overshadows the seal, which contains the name of the king referred to, and his forefathers up to Tīmūr. His Majesty's name is found in the centre, and it is encircled by the names of his forefathers.‡ The impression of the seal is as follows:—

* Tīmūr, *cf.* above p. 43 n.

† The parasol is also found on the coins of Akbar II; see *British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins.*

‡ *Cf.* G. P. Rouffaer's paper on the seals of the great Mughals in *Bijdr. Taal, Land- en Volkenk. v. Ned. Indië*, vol. lix (1906).

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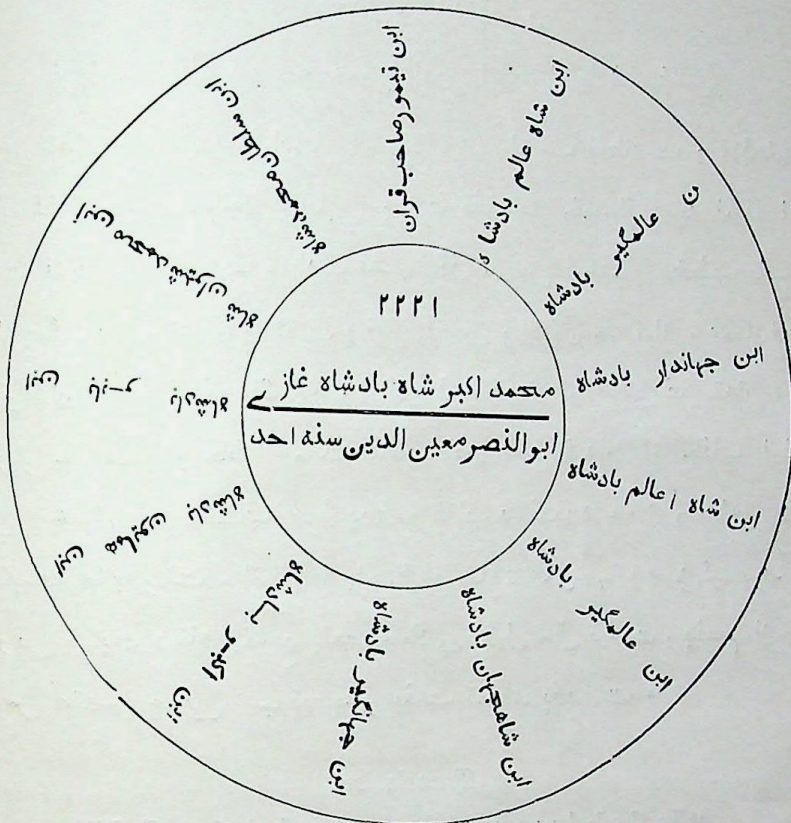
"Abu-n-naṣr Mu'īnu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī, 1st year of accession (corresponding to A.H. 1222), son of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh, son of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh, son of Jahāndār Bādshāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh, son of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh, son of Shāhjahān Bādshāh, son of Jahāngīr Bādshāh, son of Akbar Bādshāh, son of Humāyūn Bādshāh, son of Bābar Bādshāh, son of Muḥammad Shīrān Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tīmūr, the Lord of Conjunction."

We know very little of Colonel James Skinner. "He was in Scindia's service," says Keene,* "under General Perron. When, however, the British declared war against Scindia in 1803, Colonel Skinner, with many other descendants of Englishmen, was dismissed, as it was doubted whether he would fight loyally against his own countrymen. He subsequently served the East India Company with distinction, and a regiment raised by him, called 'Skinner's Yellow Boys,' is still in existence as the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, or 'Skinner's Horse.' An interesting record of his career is given in his memoirs, edited by James Baillie Fraser in 1851." St. James' Church, inside the Kashmiri Gate of Delhi, was constructed by the Colonel in A.H. 1242 (A.D 1826), in the course of ten years, and at the cost of Rs. 40,000. The Colonel's house still exists between the Kashmiri and Mori Gates, and is occupied by his descendants. There is an English inscription over the entrance.†

* Keene's *Handbook to Delhi*, sixth edition, Calcutta, 1906, p. 25.

† *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpur, 1904, Chapter III, p. 98. Also Keene's *Handbook*, sixth edition, Calcutta, 1906, p. 24.

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Text.

باسم سبحانه و شانه تعالی

فرمان ابو النصر محمد معین الدین اکبر شاه بادشاه غازي

درین زمان میمنت اقتران فرمان والا شان واجب الاطاعت و الاذعان صادر
شد که بمقتضای وفور مراحم خاقاني و فرط تفضلات خسرواني که نمونه افضال
یزدانیست فدویخاص عقیدت و ارادت نشان کرنل جمس اسکنر را بخطاب ناصرالدوله
بهادر عالیجنگ بین الاعیان و الاقران و فی الامثال و الارکان سرافراز و ممتاز فرمودیم
باید که فرزندان نامدار کامگار والا تبار و وزرای ذو الاقتدار و امرای عالیمقدار و جمیع
ارکان دربار جهانمدار و حکام ممالک فدویخاص معز الیه را از جناب فیضمآب
بادشاهي بشمول این خطاب برگزیده و القاب پسندیده معزز و مباهي دانسته
انظار عنایت ما بدولت و اقبال را باحوال فرخنده مآل بهادر معز الیه یوماً فیوماً
متزاید و بی نهایت دانند بتاریخ پنجم جمادی الاول سال بیست و پنجم از جلوس
ابد مانوس مقدس معلی زیب تحریر و زینت تسطیر پذیرفت *

Translation.

"In the holy name of the great and glorious God."

"The royal mandate of Abu-n-Naṣr Muḥammad Mu'īnu-d-dīn Akbar Shāh Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī."

"In this auspicious time an imperial mandate, worthy to be obeyed and followed, was issued that, according to the copious royal favours and bounteous kingly kindnesses which are the specimen of the Divine Grace, we have distinguished our devoted and faithful servant, Colonel James Skinner, among the nobles and chiefs, and exalted him among his contemporaries with the title of 'Nāṣiru-d-daula Bahādur 'Alī Jang.' Therefore the famous prosperous and illustrious princes, the powerful ministers, the chiefs of high dignity, all members of the Court, which is the centre of the world, and the officials of the kingdom, should consider our devoted servant referred to as honoured and exalted by the gracious royal Court, by conferring on him this selected title, and appoved surnames, and should know that the favours of our majesty towards the happy conditions of the said gentleman are ever increasing from time to time. On the 5th Jumādī-ul-awal 25th year of our eternal, holy, and exalted accession this was written."

III. (Cat. No. G, 3). Farmān of the 30th year of Akbar II (A.D. 1834).

This royal *farmān* is also of Muḥammad Akbar II. It was issued from His Majesty's Court granting the permanent lease of the Rabūpūra village to the same Colonel James Skinner, of whom an account has already

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been given. In A.H. 1230 (A.D. 1814) an agreement for the lease of the said village for 20 years was made by the Colonel at forty thousand rupees as yearly revenue payable to the Government. But after seven years he applied to the king, stating that the condition of the village was extremely bad, and requested the favour of the above-named lease on the fixed yearly amount of sixteen thousand rupees, and that it might become hereditary in his family. This request was granted. This *farmān* is also written very beautifully and has the same impression of the royal seal on the right side with the representation of a parasol over it.

Text.

باسم سبحانه و شانه تعالی

فرمان ابو النصر محمد معین الدین اکبر شاه بادشاه غازي

قولقرار پته استمرار باسم ناصر الدوله کرنیل جمس اسکنر بهادر عالیجنگ

آنعقیدت نهاد خانزاد قدیم اینخاندان والا عرضي بایندمضمون گذرانیده که ٹهیکه پته ربوپوره از ابتدای سنه ۱۲۳۰ فصلي لغایة سنه ۱۲۵۰ واجب شانزده ساله بنام فدویزاده از حضور مقرر است درانمیان هفت سال منقضي گردیده و نه سال باقیست ازانجا که رعایا سقیم و ویران بود کاشتکارانرا از جا بجا طلبیده قریب چهل هزار روپیه در وجه تقاوي بمزارعان سقیم داده آباد نمود از قلت پیداواري یکحبه از زر تقاوي بوصول نیامده و زر مشخصه حضور والا سال بسال و فصل بفصل بلا توقف و بلا عذر از قرضوام ادا نمود زیرباري کثیر برداشته ام و آینده بیصرف سي چهلهزار روپیه در آبادي و تعمیر چاههای پخته صورت فواید و محاصل و گذاره اینفدوي غیر ممکن باستحقاق خانزادگي قدیم امیدوارم که پته مذکور بجمع زر مشخصه شانزده هزار روپیه سالیانه بطور استمرار نسلاً بعد نسل و بطناً بعد بطن بنام اینفدوي مقرر گردد که باطمینان خاطر بصرف زر دیگر از قرضوام پرداخته اینفدوي و فرزندان اینفدوي جمع زر مشخصه حضور انور سال بسال و فصل بفصل داخل خزانه عامره کرده باشد لهذا بمد نظر اینکه آنعقیدت کیش خانزاد اینخاندان علیا است و در ادای زر مشخصه و صرف نمودن زر خطیر در وجه تقاوي و خانه آبادي مقروض و زیربار گردیده بمورد تفضلات و پرورش قدیمانه پته ربوپوره تیولخاص از ابتداے سنه ۱۲۴۲ فصلي بجمع شانزده هزار روپیه سکه کلدار سالیانه مساوي بطور استمرار نسلا بعد نسل و بطنا بعد بطن بنام ایشان مقرر کرده شد باید که آنفدوي با فرزندان پته مذکور استمرار نسلا بعد نسل و بطنا بعد بطن بدینحکم محکم و مستقل

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برای علی الدوام بذمه خود دانسته بخاطر جمع تمام بصرف زر دیگر پته مذکور را
آباد ساخته جمع استمرار سال بسال و فصل بفصل داخل خزانه عامره حضور والا
کرده باشند و کمي و بیشي پیداوار ذمه خود شناسند و اگر خدا نخواسته تصرف
و پایمالي زبردست رو دهد بموجب تحقیقات امین حضور انور مجرائي
خواهد یافت باید که فرزندان نامدار کامگار عالي نسب والا تبار و وزراے ذو الاقتدار
و امراے عالیمقدار و حکام کرام و عمال کفایت فرجام و متصدیان مهمات دیواني
و متکفلان معاملات سلطاني و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال ابداً و موبداً در
استقرار اینحکم مقدس معلی بکوشند و بوجهے من الوجوه سواے از زر مشخصه
طلب نسازند و لوازمه عهده داران و زمینداران و مقدمان پته مذکور آنچنان که
هرآئینه، در اطاعت و فرمانبرداري اهلکاران آنعقیدت کیش پرداخته پیداواري سال
بسال و فصل بفصل ادا مي کرده باشند و نوعی تخلف و انحراف نورزند بتاریخ
بست و هفتم شهر شوال سال میمنت اشتمال سي ام (۳۰) از جلوس معلی زیب
تحریر یافت *

Translation.

" In the name of God who is holy and whose dignity is great."

" The royal mandate of Abu-n-Naṣr Muḥammad Muī'n-ud-dīn Akbar Shāh Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī."

" The agreement of the permanent lease in the name of Nāṣiru-d-Daula Colonel James Skinner Bahādur, 'Ālī Jang."

" This faithful and old house-servant of this high family had submitted a petition, stating that the lease of farm of Rabūpūra had been given by His Majesty to this slave from the beginning of the Faslī year 1230 to the end of the year 1250, of which sixteen years should bear revenue, and out of these years, seven years have passed away and nine years remain. As the people were in a wretched state, he, having sent for many cultivators from different places, populated the village, distributing a sum of about forty thousand rupees, as advance money among the needy agriculturists. 'Owing to the scantiness of produce, I have not received even the smallest portion of the advance money, and have been paying, without the least hesitation, the fixed Government taxes year by year and harvest by harvest, borrowing money on each occasion, which made me deep in debt; and in future, the income, gain and maintenance of this devoted servant is impossible, without spending a sum amounting to about thirty or forty thousand rupees in building solid wells and populating their vicinity. In virtue of my ancestors and myself having been brought up under the patronage of this royal family, I humbly request the favour of the above-named lease, on the fixed yearly amount of sixteen thousand rupees, being perpetually assigned to this devoted servant and made hereditary in his family for good, so that another sum of money may be spent on it with full satisfaction by

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borrowing, and the annual fixed revenue be properly paid to the Royal Treasury, year by year and harvest by harvest, by the devoted servant of your Majesty and his descendants.' "

"Hence, considering that this faithful servant has been brought up under the patronage of this high family, and that he has incurred a heavy debt in paying the annual revenue and disbursing a great sum in advancing money to the cultivators, and populating the village, we, by our grace and former favour, assign to him from the beginning of the Faṣlī year 1242, the perpetual lease of the fief of Rabūpūra, paying revenue to the amount of sixteen thousand rupees of full value, payable yearly to our Royal Treasury, and make it hereditary in his family. He and his descendants should deem this perpetual lease, by the authority of Imperial mandate, under their perpetual care, and, spending satisfactorily another sum of money in the populating of the above farm, ought to pay to our Royal Treasury the permanent annual revenue, year by year and harvest by harvest, at the proper time. They should, moreover, consider themselves responsible for the scarcity or profusion of the produce, whichever the case may be. If—may God forbid—any usurpation or great devastation takes place, according to the enquiry of our Superintendent, deduction shall be made in the revenue. Our honourable and successful princes of the high and glorious family, powerful ministers, respectable *amīrs*, noble rulers, economical commissioners, officers of the financial department, statesmen of the affairs of the kingdom, fief-holders and revenue collectors of the present and of the future, all of them ought to try their best in the perpetual confirmation of this our imperial order. And they should in no way ask from him anything but the annual fixed revenue. It is incumbent on the officers, zamīndārs and head-cultivators of the above-named village always to remain fully obedient to the office-bearers of this faithful servant, and they should give over to them the proper produce of the grain and so forth, year by year and harvest by harvest, and ought never to behave otherwise."

"Written the 27th of the month of Shawāl in the 30th blessed year of the royal accession."

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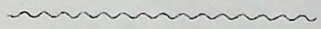
APPENDIX I.

THE ELEPHANT STATUES

AT THE DELHI GATE OF DELHI FORT.

So much misconception exists with regard to these statues, and so many inaccurate theories have been advanced by writers of guide books to Delhi and others, that it is perhaps advisable to refer the visitor to an exhaustive article on this much-discussed subject which appeared in the Annual Report for 1905-06 of the Archæological Survey of India.

The following brief note, containing the essential facts of the case, is largely drawn from the above source. With regard to the history of the elephants and their riders, the theories which derive them originally from Gwalior, and again from Agra Fort, can easily be proved without foundation. The probable truth is that the figures were only ordinary riders, and the beasts but ordinary fighting elephants.

In this connection it should be noticed that while the riders were undoubtedly carved by Mughal sculptors, the elephants belong to an entirely different school of art.

The earliest mention that we have of these statues is made by Bernier,* whose description was substantiated a few years later by M. de Thevenot.† The next account available narrates that they had been removed by order of Aurangzeb.‡ This story is repeated by Syed Ahmed,§ who adds that the statues were broken up by the emperor on account of his religious prejudices.‖ Nothing more was heard of them until 1863, when 125 fragments of the elephants and their riders were found buried within the Fort.¶

In 1866 an elephant statue was erected in the Queen's Gardens, constructed from some of these fragments, which were ruthlessly mutilated in the process.

This statue was removed in 1892 to a site on the Chandni Chauk, and again ten years later to another position in front of the Institute.

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* François Bernier. *Travels in the Mughal Empire* (Translated by Constable, 1891), pp. 256—57.

† M. de Thevenot. *Travels in the Levant* (London, 1687), Part III, p. 42.

‡ *Asiatick Researches*, 1795, p. 429.

§ Sayyid Ahmad. *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* II, 5.

‖ Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor* (Vol II, p. 10 et seq.) also gives this account, and adds the interesting, though probably imaginary, story that one of the statues was destroyed in his fury by an elephant which had got beyond control. From Manucci's account it would appear that the statues were removed in 1657, the year before Aurangzeb assumed the throne.

¶ *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, xxxii (1863), pp. 296-99; and *J.A.S.B.* I. (1862-63), pp. 225-30.

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In 1903 the present statues were set up, but it was found impossible to use the original stones on account of the mutilation they had undergone. Consequently, the work was entrusted to a European artist with a wide experience of Indian art, and, from the model which he prepared from all the essential fragments of the original statues, the elephants were carved by native workmen.

With regard to their position, it is inconceivable how any doubt could have ever existed. Having described the statues, Bernier proceeds: "After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street, divided in the midst by a canal of running water." * M. de Thevenot also refers to this canal. The only street provided with such a waterway was the one leading from the Delhi Gate to the Inner Fort as is proved by the old plans of the Fort and by the existence of the canal in question at the present day. Moreover, Bernier adds: "The other principal Gate of the Fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades . . . . rendered very convenient by the long and high arched roof with which it is covered. Light and air are admitted by several large, round apertures in the roof."† A more accurate description of the Lahore Gate could hardly be desired. The original text of the passages referred to above is here given.‡

"Je ne trouve rien de remarquable à l'entrée si ce n'est deux grands Elephans de pierre qui sont des deux côtez d'une des portes; sur l'un est la Statue de Jemel ce fameux Raja de Chitor; sur l'autre, celle de Polta son frére. Ce sont ces deux Braves, qui avec leur mere encore plus Brave qu'eux, donnerent tant d'affaires à Ekbar, et qui dans les Siéges de Villes qu'ils soûtinrent contre luy, donnerent des preuves si extraordinaires de leur générosité, qu'ils aimerent mieux enfin se faire tuer dans des sorties avec leur mere, que de se soûmettre; et c'est à cause de cette générosité extraordinaire, que leurs Ennemis mêmes les ont crû dignes qu'on leur érigeât ces Statuës: ces deux grands Elephans avec ces deux Braves qui sont dessus, impriment d'abord en entrant dans cette Forteresse, je ne sais quoy de grand, et je ne sais quelle respectueuse terreur."

"Aprés qu'on on a passé cette Porte, on trouve une longue et large Ruë qui est divisée en deux par un Canal d'eau courante," etc.

"Si l'on entre par l'autre Porte, on trouve aussi d'abord une assez large et longue Ruë qui a ses Divans on Relevemens aux côtez, comme l'autre avec des Boutiques dessus au lieu de ces Arcades. Cette Ruë est proprement un Bazar qui est trés-commode pendant la saison des pluyes et pendant l'Esté, parce qu'il est couvert d'une longue et large voûte qui a par le haut de grandes ouvertures rondes pour donner du jour."

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* *Vide* above, et seq.

† Op. cit., p. 258.

‡ Bernier *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1699), Tome II, p. 33.

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Syed Ahmed, writing before the Mutiny, at a time when uninterrupted tradition really existed, relates that the Delhi Gate was also called "the Hatya Paul—Elephant Gate (*paul* being a Hindi word for gate) because before it were formerly erected two stone elephants of full size, huge and mountainlike."

If further confirmation of the accuracy of the position in which the elephants have been placed be desired, it may be noted that the "full size" statues exactly fit into the angles on either side of the gate which, by the analogy of similar groups, is undoubtedly their original position. Moreover, excavation disclosed further overwhelming evidence in the shape of the original foundation.

R. FROUDE TUCKER,

Curator.

DELHI:

20th October, 1908.

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APPENDIX

THE SULTANS AND EXISTING MONUMENTS

NAME OF RULER.	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	PLACE OF BURIAL.	NOTE.
TURKS.				
1. Muḥammad I ibn Sām	1193	1205	Ghazna ..	Assasinated on the Indus.
2. Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak ..	1205	1210	....	Died at Lahore.
3. Ārām Shāh ..	1210	1210	....	Defeated and put to death by Altamsh.
4. Shamshu-d-dīn Altamish.	1210	1235	Quṭb ..	Died at Delhi ..
5. Ruknu-d-dīn Fīroz I.	1235	....	Malikpur ..	Deposed 1236 ..
6. Raẓiyyat ..	1236	....	Mahallah Bulbuk Khanah.	Imprisoned 1239
7. Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām	1239	....	Malikpur ..	Deposed 1241 ..
8. 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'ud ..	1241	....	....	Deposed 1246 ..
9. Nāṣiru-d-dīn Mahmūd	1246	1265	....	....
10. Ghizāṣu-d-dīn Balban	1265	1287	Quṭb ..	. ..
11. Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād.	1287	1290	....	Thrown into the Jumnā by the orders of 13.
12. Shamsu-d-dīn Kaiūmurṣ.	1290	....	....	Murdered by his successor.

* For the dynastic dates the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Syed Ahmed, the *A.S.R.*, *A.A.*, *A.S.B.*, *A.S.I.R.*, Cole's *Report*, Carr Stephen's "*Delhi*," "*Cities of Delhi*," etc., have been consulted.

† The letter C. against a date indicates that it is approximately correct, and, in the case the tomb was probably built by Altamish himself.

‡ Built in his lifetime.

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II.

OF DELHI.

THEIR

WITH APPROXIMATE DATES.*

MONUMENTS.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	AUTHORITY.
Quṭb Masjid.	9 miles S. W. of Delhi.	1191-1196	Inscription.
Quṭb, North Gate.	,, ,,		Inscription.
Quṭb Minār ..	,, ,,	1200-1220	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Sulṭān Ghārī.	3 miles N. W. of Quṭb.	1231	Inscription.
Masjid ..	Quṭb ..	1236	Inscription.
Tomb of Altamish	,,	C 1235 †	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Ruknu-d-dīn.	Malikpur ..	1240	
Tomb of Raẓiyyat	Delhi ..	1240	
Tomb of Bahrām	Malikpur ..	1242	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Balban..	Rai Pithora, Quṭb	1286 ‡	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	

by H. N. Wright, has been followed. For the dates of monuments, in addition to Fanshaw's "*Delhi Past and Present*," Keene's "*Guide to Delhi*" and Hearne's "*Seven*

case of tombs, is usually the date of the death of the occupier. In this particular

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Name of Ruler.	Accession.	Death.	Place of Burial.	Note.
KHALJIS.				
13. Jalālu-d-dīn Fīroz II.	1290	1295	....	Assasinated by 'Alāu-d-din.
14. Ruknu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm I	1295	....	....	Deposed by his successor.
15. 'Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad II.	1295	1315	Siri ..	Died probably from poison.
16. Shihābu-d-dīn 'Umār	1315	....	....	Deposed and murdered by his successor.
17. Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak I	1316	1320	....	Assasinated ..
18. Nāsiru-d-dīn Khusrū..	1320	1320	....	Assasinated by his successor.
TUGHLAQ SHĀHS.				
19. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I	1320	1324	Tughlaqābād.	Killed by his son.
20. Muḥammad III ibn Tughlaq.	1324	1351	Tughlaqābād.	Died of fever.
21. Fīroz III ..	1351	1388	Delhi ..	Died of old age

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MONUMENTS.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	AUTHORITY.
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Hauz Khāṣṣ ..	2 miles N. of Quṭb	1305	
'Alāu-d-dīn's Minār	Quṭb ..	1310	Inscription.
Alai Darwāza ..	,,	1311	Inscription.
....	....	....	
Tomb of 'Alāu-d-dīn.	Siri	C 1315	
....	....	....	
Baoli.. ..	Nizāmu-d-dīn, 5 miles S. of Delhi.	1321	
Tomb of Tughlaq Shāh.	Tughlaqābād ..	C 1325*	
Tomb of Nizāmu-d-din.	Nizāmu-d-dīn ..	1325	
Grave of Poet Khusraū.	Nizāmu-d-dīn ..	1325	
....	....	....	
Jama'āt Khāna	Nizāmu-d-dīn ..	1353	
Fīroz Shāh Kotila	Near Delhi ..	1354	
Qadam Sharīf ..	W. of Delhi ..	1357 †	
Tomb of Shāh 'Ālam.	....	1365-1390	
Tomb of Nasiru-d-dīn.	Chirāgh Delhi ..	1374	Inscription.
Khirkī Masjid ..	1 Mile E. of Quṭb	1387	Inscription.
Kalān Masjid ..	In Delhi ..	1387	
Begampūri Masjid	Begampūr ..	1387	

* Built by his son. † Moved to its present position in 1374 by Fīroz Shāh.

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NAME OF RULER.	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	PLACE OF BURIAL.	NOTE.
TUGHLAQ SHĀHS (*contd.*)				
22. Tug͟hlaq S͟hāh ..	1388	1388	....	Deposed and killed.
23. Abūbakr ..	1388	....	....	Defeated and imprisoned in 1390.
24. Muḥammad IV ībn Fīroz.	1389	1392	Hauz K͟hāṣṣ	....
25. Sikandar I ..	1392	1392	,,	Died 45 days after his accession.
26. Maḥmūd II. ..	1392	1412	....	Died at Delhi. Interregnum of Naṣrat S͟hāh 1395-1399.
27. Daulat K͟hān Lodi ..	1412	....	....	Surrendered to his successor 1414.
SAYYIDS.				
28. K͟hiẓr K͟hān ..	1414	1421	K͟hiẓr-ki-Gumti, Delhi.	....
29. Mubārak II. ..	1421	1433	Mubārakpur Kolah.	Murdered by his Wizīr.
30. Muḥammad V ibn Farīd	1433	1443	....	....
31. ‘Ālam S͟hāh ..	1443	....	....	Deposed in 1451
LODIS.				
32. Bahlol ..	1451	1488	Chirāg͟h Delhi.	....
33. Sikandar II. ..	1488	1517	K͟hairpur ..	Qāndāhār surrendered to Bābar in 1517 and Sikandar died at Agra.
34. Ibrāhīm II. ..	1517	1526	,,	Defeated and killed at Panipat by Bābar.

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MONUMENTS.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	AUTHORITY.
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Fīroz Shāh.	2 miles N. of Quṭb	C 1389	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Khiẓr Khān.	Near Okla, 8 miles S. of Delhi.	C 1427	
Tomb of Mubārak	Mubārakhpur	C 1433	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Muḥammad V.	Khairpur	1445	
Tomb of Bahlol	Delhi	1488	
Moth ki Masjid	8 miles S. of Delhi	1488	Inscription.
....	....	....	
Mosque & Tomb of Sikandar Lodi.	Khairpur	1517	
Tomb of Ibrāhīm Lodi.	,,	1520	

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Name of Ruler.	Accession.	Death.	Place of Burial.	Note.
MUGHALS.				
35. Bābar— ..	1526	1530	Kābul ..	Died at Agra in his 49th year.
36. Humāyūn ..	1530	....	....	Driven out by Sher Shāh 1539.
SURIS.				
37. Sher Shāh ..	1539	1545	Sasaram in Behar.	Died at the siege of Kalinjar.
38. Islām Shāh ..	1545	1552	....	....
39. Muḥammad 'Ādil ..	1552	1553	....	....
40. Ibrāhīm III. ..	1553	1554	....	Driven out by his successor.
41. Sikandar III. ..	1554	....	....	....
Humāyūn (returns)..	1555	1556	Delhi ..	Fell down the steps of Shēr Mandil on his way to prayer.
42. Akbar	1556	1605	Sikandarah, Agra.	Died at Agra ..
43. Jahāngīr ..	1605	1627	Shāhdara, Lahore.	Died while returning from Kashmīr.

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MONUMENTS.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	AUTHORITY.
Mosque and Tomb of Jamāli Kamāli.	Mahrauli	1528	
Tomb of Imām Zamīn.	Quṭb	1537	Inscription.
Sher Mandil	Purānā Qil'a	1541	
Qil'a Kona Masjid	,,	1541	
Lal Darwāza	,,	1541	
Quṭb Ṣāḥib's grave enclosure.	Mahrauli	1541	Inscription.
Salīm Gaṛh	Delhi Fort	1546	
Tomb and Mosque of Isa Khān.	Near Humāyūn's Tomb.	1547	Inscription
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Humāyūn	5 miles S. of Delhi	1556-1565	
Tomb of Tagah Khān.	Nizāmu-d-dīn ..	1566	Inscription.
Tomb of Adham Khān.	Mahrauli ..	C 1566	
Tomb of the Barber	Humāyūn's Tomb		
Nīlī Chhatrī	Near Purānā Qil'a	1566	
Tomb of Poet Khusraū.	Nizāmu-d-dīn ..	1606	Inscription.
Salīmgaṛh Bridge	Delhi Fort ..	1621	Inscription.
Nīlī Burj	Near Hum yūn's Tomb.	1624	
Chausath Khamba	Nizāmu-d-dīn ..	1624	
Tomb of Khān-i-Khānān.	Near Humāyūn's Tomb.	C 1626	

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Name of Ruler.	Accession.	Death.	Place of Burial.	Note.
MUGHALS—(*contd.*)				
44. Shāh Jahān ..	1628	....	Tāj Agra ..	Deposed by his son 1658, was confined in Agra Fort till his death in 1666.
45. Aurangzeb ..	1658	1707	Aurangābād, Daulatābād.	Died at Ahmednagar.
46. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh.	1707	1712	Mehrauli ..	Died at Lahore.
47. Jahāndār Shāh ..	1712	1713	Humāyūn's Tomb.	Murdered ..
48. Farrukh Siyar ..	1713	1719	,,	Murdered on the terrace of Humāyūn's Tomb.
49. Rafī'u-d-darajāt ..	1719	1719	....	....
50. Rafī'u-d-daulah ..	1719	1719	....	....
51. Muḥammad Shāh ..	1719	1748	Nizāmu-d-dīn.	Surrendered to Nadir Shah in 1739.
52. Aḥmad Shāh ..	1748	....	Humāyūn's Tomb.	Blinded and imprisoned in 1754.

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MONUMENTS.	LOCALITY.	DATE	AUTHORITY.
Delhi Fort and its Palaces.	Delhi ..	1638-1648	
Walls of Shāhjahānābād.	....	1644-1649	
Roshanārā Bāgh	West of Delhi ..	1650	
Jāmī Masjid	Delhi ..	1650	
Fatehpurī Masjid	Delhi ..	1650	
Moti Masjid	Delhi Fort ..	1659	
Curtain walls to gates.	,,	1665	
Roshanārā's Tomb	West of Delhi ..	C 1671	
Tomb of Jahānāra Bēgam.	Nizāmu-d-Din ..	C 1681	
Zīnatū-l-Masājid	Delhi ..	1700	
Moti Masjid	Mahrauli ..	1709	
Mosque and Tomb of Ghāzi-ud-dīn	Ajmer Gate of Delhi.	C 1710 *	
Tomb of Bahādur Shāh.	Mahrauli ..	1712	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Sonahari Masjid	Chandni Chauk, Delhi.	1721	Inscription.
Jantar Mantar	2 miles S. of Delhi	1724	
Tomb of Muḥammad Shāh.	Nizāmu-d-dīn		
2nd Sonahari Masjid.	Faiz Bazar	1745	Inscription.
3rd ,,	Near Delhi Gate of Fort.	1751	Inscription.
Tomb of Safdar Jang.	5 miles S. of Delhi	C 1753 †	

* Built in his lifetime. † Built by his son.

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NAME OF RULER.	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	PLACE OF BURIAL.	NOTE.
MUGHALS—(*contd.*)				
53. 'Ālamgīr II ..	1754	1759	Humāyūn's Tomb.	Murdered ..
54. Shāh 'Ālam II ..	1759	1806	Tomb of Bahādur Shāh, Quṭb.	....
55. Akbar Shāh II ..	1806	1837	,,	....
56. Bahādur Shāh II ..	1837	....	Rangoon	After the Mutiny he was sent to Rangoon.

THE CITIES

NAME.	FOUNDER.
1. Qil'a Rai Pithora	Prithīrāj .. .. ..
2. Siri	'Alāu-d-dīn .. .. ..
3. Tughlaqābād	Tughlaq I. .. .. ..
4. 'Adilābād	Muḥammad Tughlaq .. ..
5. Sahānpanah	,, ...
6. Fīrozābād	Fīroz Shāh .. .. ..
7. Purānā Qil'a	Humāyūn .. .. ..
8. Shāhjahānābād	Shāh Jahān.. .. ..

SIMLA :
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Monuments.	Locality.	Date.	Authority.
....	....	....	
....	....	....	
Tomb of Mirza Jahāngīr.	Nizāmu-d-dīn	1832	
....	....	....	

OF DELHI.

Locality.	Date.
Round the Quṭb	C 1180
North of (1)	1303
4 miles E. of Quṭb	1321-1323
2 miles S.E. of (3)	C 1325
Enclosing 1 and 2	1327
1 mile S. of Delhi	1354
3 miles S. of Delhi	1533
Modern Delhi	1648

R. FROUDE TUCKER, *Curator.*

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